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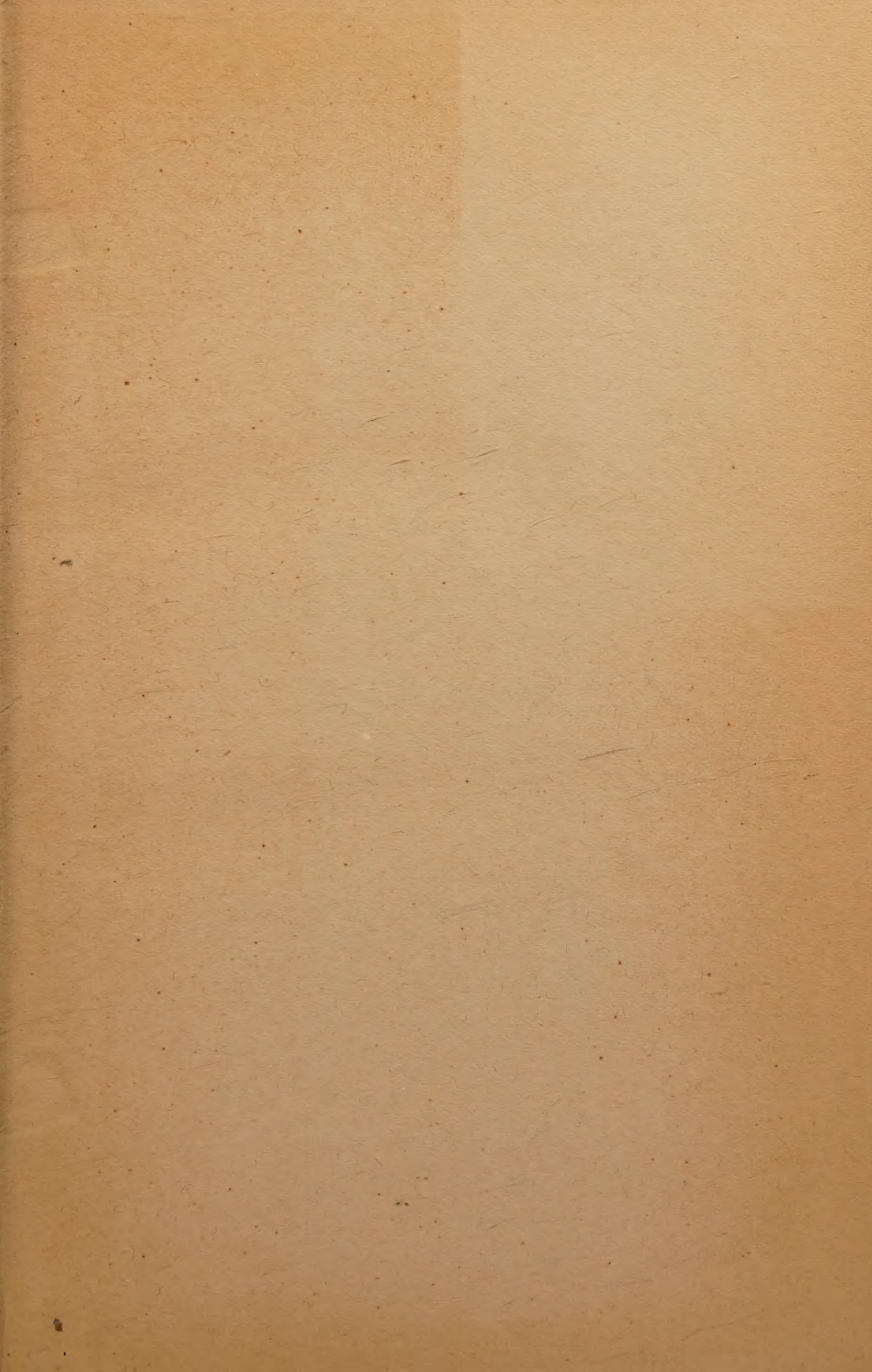


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The  
Life after Death  
in Oceania





# The Life after Death in Oceania

and the Malay Archipelago

By

ROSALIND MOSS, B.Sc. OXON.

iii



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

HUMPHREY MILFORD

1925

PRESBYTERIAN THEOLOGICAL  
SEMINARY LIBRARY,  
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Oxford University Press

*London Edinburgh Glasgow Copenhagen*

*New York Toronto Melbourne Cape Town*

*Bombay Calcutta Madras Shanghai*

Humphrey Milford Publisher to the UNIVERSITY

Printed in England



## PREFACE

THE purpose of the present inquiry is to trace the connexion between burial-customs and beliefs in a future life among the more primitive peoples of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Indonesia. It does not claim to be in any way comprehensive, nor to survey each and every form of disposal of the dead: on the contrary, only those practices which have an apparent connexion with ideas about the afterlife, or have directly contributed to the evolution or modification of such beliefs, have been brought within the scope of the present work. Let me here say that I started with no particular theory. With regard to the facts, collection rather than selection has been my method, although in a study of this sort there must always be a certain amount of discrimination in the choice of examples. In the following pages I hope that, by a careful study and comparison of these beliefs and rites, some light may be thrown upon the early development of eschatological belief and the growth of funerary ritual, and that I may be able to make a small contribution towards the elucidation of the many ethnological problems of this area. For my data I have relied as far as possible upon the accounts of first-hand observers, especially scientific investigators, and the more accurate of the older writers who had the advantage of getting into touch with the natives before their deterioration by contact with civilization. The area with which I propose to deal extends from the Malay Peninsula on the west to Easter Island in the Pacific Ocean (omitting Australia) on the east, and includes the Malay Archipelago, New Guinea, the New Britain Archipelago, the Solomon Islands, and other Melanesian Groups, Micronesia, and the islands of Polynesia with New Zealand. This

area has been chosen in view of the recent literature dealing with the ethnology of the Pacific, notably the researches of the late Dr. Rivers, in which various methods of burial and forms of eschatological belief play so large a part. May I express a hope that others will undertake similar regional studies of the relation between burial-rites and beliefs among primitive peoples?

My thanks are due to Mr. Henry Balfour for his encouragement and many valuable suggestions, and to Dr. Marett who has most kindly read through some of the proofs and written the Foreword.

1924.

R. MOSS.



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## FOREWORD

To the man of the glacial epoch it seemed that death is not the end ; if indeed so much is to be inferred from his burial-customs. And up to this day most human beings, whatever their breed or grade of culture, have held the same belief, or at any rate have behaved as if they did. Now the question how, if at all, this faith may be rationally justified is reserved for the philosopher. Meanwhile, the anthropologist can at least bear witness to the age-long and world-wide prevalence of the belief ; leaving it to the philosopher to estimate the precise value of the argument from consent as best he may.

Let the anthropologist, however, confine himself ever so strictly to his own province which is that of human history at its widest, even so he must make up his mind which of two alternative methods he prefers to follow. His choice will depend on the moral that he seeks to draw from the facts. He may wish to bring out the fundamental likeness between all sorts and conditions of men ; or, on the contrary, he may be more inclined to lay stress on the remarkable variability of human nature. Both views of history have sooner or later to be reckoned with. Mankind is a one in many, and a many in one ; so that it would be fatal to forget the species in the varieties or the varieties in the species. Nevertheless, thinkers will always tend to emphasize the one aspect or the other for certain reasons. One such reason is temperamental bias. A better reason for choosing between a synthetic and an analytic method is the need to support a growing science on whichever side it is weakest.

Thus the anthropologists of the last generation were on the whole concerned to proclaim the unity of mankind. History had hitherto meant the history of Western Civilization ; and civilized man had to be cured of his snobbishness by reminding him of his humble origin and of the fact that he still possesses sundry poor relations. So a wholesale treatment of human affairs was required if the world was to be taught to think

racially. The evolution of the species was envisaged as a single movement, a concerted advance towards a fuller way of life. It was known, of course, that in the heat of battle all had not always proceeded according to plan. But the pioneers of anthropology felt bound to adopt what might be called the outlook of the general staff. Since the net result of the operations entitled them to report progress, they were more concerned for the moment to indicate the positions successively occupied than to distinguish the work of particular units, whether helpful or the reverse.

Every method, however, has its drawbacks, and at length it became plain that charges of too facile generalization, and of premature synthesis as a consequence, would have to be met. To consolidate the positions won, fresh troops must be sent forward, and a closer survey of the ground and a nicer distribution of special tasks became necessary on the part of the leaders. In short, summary impressions must be confirmed, or else corrected, by means of detailed observations. Diversity rather than unity must for the time being be kept in view; though doubtless such an intensive examination of the parts would in the long run bring about an exacter characterization of the whole.

This, then, is the day of regional studies. It may be duller to proceed by a method of piecemeal investigation, but it is infinitely more thorough. The older anthropologists wrote each for himself, and, if literature gained, science suffered from the lack of co-operation. But of late anthropology has been industrialized. An effective division of labour actually exists, though it may be sometimes a little hard to discover who manages and directs the business. Thus, when she concentrates on Indonesia, Miss Moss can be sure that she is doing useful spade-work in line with many other students who seek by their joint efforts to revise an important chapter of the history of religion of which the older versions are one and all unsatisfactory. For instance, her book is one in purpose with that series of regional studies concerning the belief in immortality which Sir James Frazer has so brilliantly instituted.

Now geography cannot by itself explain the history of man. At the same time it provides what is probably the most con-

venient way of approach to the study of the influences making for human diversity. The geographic control, as it is termed, is by no means a constant factor. Physical conditions alter, as for instance climate. Or, again, man's relation to his environment differs according to the state of his arts. Lacking boats, one people finds the sea a barrier, whereas another people, with boats, uses the sea as a bridge. For all this, regions have their abiding features which cause them to exert a steady pull on the activities of those that sojourn there. And some must count as key-regions, because their control has been so constant and decisive as to furnish a clue to a characteristic movement of history.

Indonesia, then, is such a key-region. Its position at the south-eastern corner of Asia, of which most of it was once a solid part, provides a natural outlet for the surplus population of a continent that contains India and China, not to speak of other areas that formerly at least bred human beings in almost like profusion. Thus Indonesia is the Eastward Ho! of the Old World, or, regarded from the other side, is the Gate of the Pacific. In such a region the student of culture may expect to sample a goodly part of man's experiments in the way of custom and belief. For not only have many peoples in turn entered and passed through, but there are a thousand isolated and protected spots in this vast archipelago where little colonies of immigrants have come to a halt. Whether it will prove eventually possible to reconstruct the actual wanderings of those who have so variously contributed to the institutions and ideas of Indonesia remains to be seen. Miss Moss has been content to suggest cautiously certain major migrations that might account for the present distribution of culture in a general way. But she wisely perceives that there is no sense in trying to force the pace, and rushing to momentous conclusions on the strength of evidence that is very imperfect, and indeed is only now being critically examined for the first time. In the meantime no small part of the interest of her work comes from the light thrown on the ethnological traffic of this chiefest of the world's highways.

For the rest, I would briefly call attention to another kind of interest which this study of Indonesian beliefs possesses, at any



rate for me. Throughout Miss Moss's essay a most successful attempt is made, so far as the known facts allow, to bring beliefs and ritual practices into mutual relation. It is very hard to say in a given example whether the rite arose out of some formative notion, however dim, or whether conversely a particular doctrine came into being in order to explain a pre-existing practice. The history of funeral ceremonies furnishes us with peculiarly difficult cases that seem to involve a very subtle interplay between meaning and act. On the one hand, deep and complex emotions are likely to be excited by the death of a fellow-being, and, if so excited, will be sure to express themselves in appropriate actions. On the other hand, the disposal of the body is, apart from its sentimental aspect, a matter of health and comfort, and it may be that a sentimental and eventually religious interpretation has become attached to practices which were wholly utilitarian in their first intention. Such questions are continually raised and discussed by Miss Moss in the course of her work, though she never dogmatizes when she has something to propose in the way of a solution. Altogether, then, I find her book full of valuable suggestions, and such as will appeal to others engaged in similar investigations, none the less but rather the more because they are offered in a critical and modest spirit.

R. R. MARETT.

# I

## INTRODUCTORY

[For the numbers attached to the bibliographical references in the foot-notes, see the Bibliography at end.]

IN the following attempt to thread a way through the maze of ceremonies which surround the disposal of the dead, and to trace the growth and interaction of the associated ritual and beliefs, the subject has been approached from the eschatological side. First, then, we shall note the supposed locality of the afterworld, with a view to discovering the factors which have fixed its position. In this connexion there stands out most prominently the island afterworld of peoples who have migrated across the sea, among whom occur such suggestive practices as sea-burial and the funerary canoe: we shall endeavour to trace how far such customs have helped to mould or colour this type of spirit-land, and to determine whether they have been deliberately introduced to fit in with this theory, or whether they owe their origin to some practical cause and have been reinterpreted. The conception of the underworld, again, divides itself into two main types, one of which has certain marked characteristics, and a significant distribution, evidently associated with a particular culture; and it has therefore seemed worth while to seek out the home of this belief, and to follow the traces of it which appear elsewhere, generally underlying other more recently introduced customs. The afterworld in the sky, and its possible connexion with sun-worship, megaliths, &c., has been the subject of much controversy. Here, however, we are only concerned with this belief in its relation to burial-forms, and its apparent association with funerary ritual, where its importance is found to be surprisingly small. Indeed it is comparatively rare for souls to go upwards after death, and if the influence of higher religions be eliminated, the sky appears to be always an alternative abode for certain kinds of ghost, and a more or less subsidiary belief.

The journey of the soul after death next claims our attention. Here we are faced with the most confusing array of ceremonies and interpretations; for almost invariably the dead man is supposed to linger temporarily near his corpse, and to depart at a later date to his future abode: this frequently involves a journey along some special route, and some kind of ordeal or test at the entrance to his new home, before he can be considered as safely lodged among his fellow-ghosts. Hence numerous explanations of rites performed to provide for the deceased during the waiting period, to dismiss and direct him on his journey, and to ensure his safe arrival and admission, or to safeguard the survivors from his return or ill will. An attempt will here be made to discover the basis on which many of these practices rest, to trace their development and reinterpretation, and above all to ascertain what influence they have had in modifying or even producing the eschatological doctrine of any one people. Among many tribes having elaborate funeral ceremonies, especially in Indonesia, we find definite assertions that these directly affect the fate of the dead man, and are sometimes the means of securing admission to the afterworld. The question as to how this theory of ritual efficacy arose is an interesting one, and by comparison with the simpler methods of other peoples, it is hoped to suggest the possible evolution of such ideas, and to point out some of the factors which have contributed towards various eschatological details. By careful examination of the associated ritual and the various purposes which it serves, much light may be thrown on such beliefs as the temporary abode of the soul in house or image, ghostly travels by land or sea, and the tests imposed by guardians at the portals of the afterworld.

Speculation about the conditions of life in the hereafter is for the most part unconnected with funeral rites, and frequently takes the form of a picturesque folk-tale rather than an article of faith. There is, however, the almost universal practice of grave-gifts, so often uncritically presumed by observers to be intended for the use of the dead man in the other world; and the question arises as to whether this was their real purpose, or whether we have to do with the reinterpretation of a custom arising from totally different motives, which may even itself



have suggested the theory that the dead man has need of such things.

It is seldom that equality of treatment is claimed for the denizens of the spirit-land. Besides distinction of rank and status (as in this life), punishment of less worthy souls is not uncommon, either by means of special regions or divisions assigned to them, or by the denial of the pleasures enjoyed by more favoured ghosts, or even by the total destruction of offending souls. In higher religions the doctrine has often arisen that by ritual vicariously performed the dead person may obtain mitigation of the penalties which await him beyond the grave. Is the germ of this idea present in the primitive theory of the fate of the soul, or is the welfare or continued existence of ghosts unassociated with the ceremonies performed by the survivors?

Having followed the ghost from the corpse to the spirit-land, and considered its fate there and the question of its final extinction, we now turn to certain peculiar forms of disposal, such as tree-burial and mummification, which are often associated with special beliefs about the afterlife. These are here examined in detail in order to determine how far they may have helped to suggest these beliefs, whether they have merely become associated with them accidentally, or because both are integral elements of the same culture-complex. Where the details of such practices and beliefs are particularly numerous and complicated, these have been set forth in full in appendices, and only the main argument is included in the text.

## II

### MIGRATION AND THE ISLAND AFTERWORLD

THERE is no doubt that in many places the belief in an after-world across the sea is due to migration, the souls of deceased immigrants returning to a home of the dead in the land from which they came. The original afterworld was, however, on or under the earth according to the earlier conception of the particular people, and its present position as an island beyond the seas is therefore a secondary result of migration, the crossing of the sea thither being only an incident of the journey due to historical circumstances. The presence of traces of a non-island afterworld among peoples who send their dead across the sea in this manner points back to earlier beliefs held prior to migration from the ancestral home. With the lapse of time the memory of such a migration tends gradually to fade, though leaving its impression upon funerary ritual, and resulting in various modifications in eschatological belief.

Three stages in this process will now be considered, showing how development or modification of burial-rites has taken place, and beginning with peoples among whom migration is comparatively recent.

#### § I. *Definite Return to Original Home.*

In the south-east islands of the Malay Archipelago a belief that souls of the dead go to neighbouring islands is found among the inhabitants of Watubela, Kei, Timorlaut, the Luang-Sermata Group, Baba, Savu, Rotti, Leti, Moa and Lakor, and Keisar, and these island afterworlds appear to correspond with the lands of origin of these various peoples. Thus the natives of Rotti (south-west of Timor) go to Savu from which they came originally, and those of Savu (west of Rotti), who came from Sumba to the north-west, return thither; in South-west Leti the dead go to Luang because they came thence, while the souls of the original inhabitants stay in the mountains of their own island, and the descendants of Dutch immigrants return to

Holland.<sup>1</sup> It seems probable that among all these peoples the afterworld was originally on earth, i. e. in some part of their own island as in Leti, as this is the usual form of spirit-land in the other islands in this region, while only among tribes which have emigrated do the souls have to cross to another island. Thus in Sumba (west of Timor) the dead live in a wood or in the mountains of their own island,<sup>2</sup> and in Wettar (north of Timor) they go to various hills according to manner of death; and though in the latter those who are drowned wander in the sea,<sup>3</sup> this is obviously due to the fate of their bodies. In other islands from which we have information, such as Ceram, Buru,<sup>4</sup> and (probably) the Aru Islands,<sup>5</sup> the afterworld is on earth, while in Roma and Dama (north-east of Timor) the souls of the dead remain with the living in special stones or in the house.<sup>6</sup> There is a similar belief in Keisar (close to Roma), where part of the soul remains in an image or pebble, while the rest goes to the island afterworld;<sup>7</sup> this looks like a compromise to account for the crossing of the sea, which is really due to migration.

As regards burial-rites, their connexion with an afterworld across the sea is very slight, and is probably recent, as though introduced since the migration which is responsible for the belief took place. In Timorlaut the dead man is laid in a portion of canoe upon a high platform on the shore, or on the top of a rock by the sea; in the case of an important person the coffin is decorated with masts, sails, images of rowers, and everything necessary for a long voyage, which is said to make the journey easy to *Nusnitu*. Later the skull is removed and preserved in the house, and the bones worn to keep off ill-luck.<sup>8</sup> That this exposure on the shore may well be a later modification to fit in with the idea that the soul departs to an island across the sea, is shown by the fact that in Selaru and some parts of Timorlaut important people were placed in the branches of trees, and lesser people are never exposed on a platform, but buried and their bones put in a cave,<sup>9</sup> which are probably the earlier forms of

<sup>1</sup> Riedel (136), 211, 221, 306, 316, 334, 338, 394, 421; Kruijt (83), 342, 377, 379; Wilken (184), 318; Forbes (41), 324; Bastian (6), ii. 65, 91, 108.

<sup>2</sup> Wilken (184), 318; Kruijt (83), 379; Bastian (6), ii. 108.

<sup>3</sup> Riedel (136), 453.

<sup>4</sup> Kruijt (83), 377, 378; Riedel (136), 144.

<sup>5</sup> Riedel (136), 267.

<sup>6</sup> Riedel (136), 460, 466.

<sup>7</sup> Riedel (136), 410-11.

<sup>8</sup> Riedel (136), 305; Forbes (41), 322-4; Bastian (6), ii. 91.

<sup>9</sup> Riedel (136), 306.



burial. As for the decorated canoe-coffin, it is of course possible that it represents the actual taking back of the corpse to its ancestral home (cf. Polynesian customs, p. 10); but it seems more probable that it is a late development of the common practice of burying a man in his canoe (cf. pp. 28 and 29), to which has been added all the picturesque paraphernalia of the Malay disease-boat, which is especially prevalent in Timorlaut.<sup>1</sup> The Luang-Sermata Group and Leti, which lie between Timorlaut and Timor, are the only other places in this area where such a soul-boat is found; in the former a small decorated canoe is filled with linen, food, &c., and buried near the grave, in order to take both the soul and the goods to the spirit-land,<sup>2</sup> and in Leti small canoes provided with victuals are sent into the sea to take the soul to *Noesiata*,<sup>3</sup> which bears a strong resemblance to the custom which the Milano of Borneo have adopted from the Malays (cf. p. 29). It therefore seems highly probable that these islands lying in the direct route between Timor and Timorlaut have come under Malay influence, which has introduced the soul-boat into their ritual, and that both this and the custom of exposure on the shore in Timorlaut are comparatively recent modifications arising out of a belief in an island after-world, which in itself is a secondary result of migration.

Two other examples of the influence of known migration upon the locality of the afterworld are of interest, though in neither of these cases is it directly stated that the soul is supposed to return to the original home of the race. In the Siara District in the south-east of New Ireland, the souls of those killed in battle, or by any violent death, go to the island of Tanga, where they live in two great rocks, and they also come out at night and settle on certain trees; other ghosts are supposed to wander in the forest.<sup>4</sup> As the Siara District is a colony from the islands of Tanga and Aneri, with whom the natives are on friendly terms, whilst at war with all their neighbours,<sup>5</sup> these souls evidently return to their ancestral home.

The inhabitants of Tami Island in Huon Gulf (ex-German New Guinea) share the belief of their neighbours in an underworld *Lamboam* to which the dead repair, but there is also

<sup>1</sup> Myers (118), 728.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 343; Riedel (136), 328-9.

<sup>3</sup> Kruijt (83), 358.

<sup>4</sup> Parkinson (123), 308-9.

<sup>5</sup> Parkinson (123), 261.

another soul—the 'long soul'—which (unlike the second soul of the Kai, &c., of this region, which has no existence after death) leaves the body at death and wanders over Malikap on the west coast of New Britain to the village of Andua on the north coast.<sup>1</sup> This theory is doubtless due to a relatively recent cultural drift which has reached Tami Island from the western end of New Britain.<sup>2</sup> Neither here nor in Siara is there any ritual connected with an island afterworld.

Thus in this type the island afterworld is located in a real island, and is obviously a secondary result of comparatively recent migration. There is little associated ritual beyond exposure on the shore and decorated canoes in the Timorlaut-Luang-Sermata district; and these appear to be relatively late modifications, for which changed beliefs resting on the historical fact of migration (together with Malay influence) are directly responsible.

## § 2. *Spirit-land on Neighbouring Island.*

In the Solomon Islands the souls of the dead also go to adjacent islands; but although the idea of an island afterworld may originally be due to the fact that immigration has taken place, the connexion between the spirit-land and an ancestral home has practically disappeared. In the Western Solomons, indeed, the dead repair to a special volcano, generally Bareka or Bagano, the only active volcano on Bougainville, and this Bareka is also the abode of the dead for the Buin of S. Bougainville.<sup>3</sup> But the association of volcanoes with the land of the dead is probably a survival of the culture of the earlier inhabitants, of which traces appear throughout the Solomon Islands (cf. Appendix I). In the eastern islands the locality of the spirit-land is less distinct and varies locally, but is generally placed in some small island off the coast, as in San Cristoval, Saa, Florida, and Ysabel,<sup>4</sup> as though the notion of a return to the ancestral home had been forgotten, leaving only the belief in an island as the final abode of ghosts.

<sup>1</sup> Bammler (4), iii. 518; Keysser (77), iii. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Haddon (54), 118.

<sup>3</sup> Wheeler (181), 103; Guppy (51), 53; Thurnwald (171), i. 320-1.

<sup>4</sup> Fox and Drew (42), 161; Codrington (22), 256-7, 260; Penny (125), 60.

This belief in an island afterworld has probably been strengthened by the very abundant ritual suggestive of crossing the sea after death. Sea-burial is customary for commoners among the Mono-Alu (from a canoe) and the Bougainville Straits generally, and also in New Georgia, Savo, Saa, and San Cristoval (sometimes for chiefs also), and, by request, in Florida and Eddystone Island,<sup>1</sup> while the bones or ashes from the funeral pyres of the better-class Mono were thrown into the sea from a canoe,<sup>2</sup> as though a survival of former sea-burial (cf. pp. 20-2). Moreover, in Vella-la-Vella it is usual to expose corpses on a small island,<sup>3</sup> and also sometimes in Eddystone Island<sup>4</sup> and New Georgia,<sup>5</sup> the head being taken later and preserved in the skull-house. As it is only after the decay of the body that the soul sets out for its new abode, this practice is evidently connected with the idea of the departure of the ghost for its island home according to the orthodox belief. (The preservation of the skull is part of the culture of a later wave of immigrants grafted on to earlier customs, as shown by Dr. Rivers.<sup>6</sup>) Other traces of this practice occur in the throwing away of bones on a reef in Eddystone Island,<sup>7</sup> and the depositing of skulls and bones in a cairn by the sea or on some secret islet in Florida, Ugi, and the East Solomons, and sometimes for chiefs in Treasury Island.<sup>8</sup> In Saa, too, a canoe is used as a coffin; the bodies of great or beloved people are hung up in the house in a canoe or in the figure of a sword-fish, and sometimes a corpse is exposed on a stage in a canoe.<sup>9</sup> In San Cristoval the bones of the dead may be put into a wooden shark and floated out to sea,<sup>10</sup> which looks as though the Saa sword-fish figure or canoe were originally for the same purpose. (In Santa Anna exhumed skulls are likewise placed in models of sharks or sword-fish in the canoe.<sup>11</sup>) Perhaps this is a relic of sending back the body to the ancestral home (cf. p. 10, &c.). In any case there is most certainly a connexion between sea-burial and the fate of the soul. In San Cristoval the souls of those who have been cast into the sea become sea-ghosts, while others

<sup>1</sup> Wheeler (181), 81; Guppy (51), 52; Williamson (189), 66; Fox and Drew (42), 161; Codrington (22), 255, 262, 267; Woodford (192), 37.

<sup>2</sup> Wheeler (181), 67, 71-3, 78.

<sup>3</sup> Thurnwald (171), iii; Part I, 27.

<sup>4</sup> Guppy (51), 52.

<sup>5</sup> Somerville (160), 403; Woodford (192), 37.

<sup>6</sup> Rivers (139), ii, 275, 276.

<sup>7</sup> G. Brown (15), 391.

<sup>8</sup> Guppy (51), 52.

<sup>9</sup> Codrington (22), 261, 263; Rivers (139), ii, 267.

<sup>10</sup> Fox and Drew (42), 161.

<sup>11</sup> Woodford (192), 37.



become land-ghosts, and those whose bodies have been sent adrift in shark-coffins are reincarnated in the first sea-animal which is seen to approach them.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this is a more recent theory, in keeping with the present form of *ataro*-(ghost) worship, which has superseded the idea of a return to the ancestral home. It seems probable that exposure on the shore is a special modification of ordinary exposure among an immigrant people which wished to send back its dead to its own afterworld (cf. Timorlaut, p. 5), and that this practice, together with that of sea-burial, has kept alive the belief in an island home of the dead when its secondary nature has been forgotten. Meanwhile, the canoe has passed over into the realm of belief, and becomes in Florida and Eddystone Island the ship of the dead, which takes the souls across to the spirit-land.<sup>2</sup>

### § 3. *Mythical Island beyond the Sea.*

In Polynesia the dead go across the sea to the home of their ancestors, from which the race originally came; but its actual locality is so remote in space and time that it has now become a mythical island in the far west, or even a region under the sea, generally known as *Po* or *Pulotu*, the 'place of night', or *Hawaiki* (= *Avaiki*, *Savaii*, &c.), the latter name being more closely connected with the idea of an ancestral home, while *Po* is often associated with gods.

In Samoa, New Zealand, and Fiji the soul is paddled across to the spirit-land by a ferryman,<sup>3</sup> in certain parts of Vanua Levu a canoe-shaped island being pointed out as the ship of the dead;<sup>4</sup> and the canoe-coffin in the Lau Islands was supposed to take the chief to his ancestral home.<sup>5</sup> In New Zealand and Fiji, however, the ocean often becomes a river which divides the dead from the living, and is sometimes crossed by a plank,<sup>6</sup> a modification due, no doubt, to Melanesian influence (cf. pp. 48-9), and also to local circumstances, when the island-idea has faded into

<sup>1</sup> Fox and Drew (42), 161; Codrington (22), 258-9.

<sup>2</sup> Codrington (22), 256; Rivers (138), 395.

<sup>3</sup> Krämer (82), ii. 108, 168; Shortland (149), 151-2; White (183), 364; Cowan (24), 348; Fison (40), 147-8; T. Williams (186), 206; Thomson (169), 117, 121.

<sup>4</sup> T. Williams (186), 175.

<sup>5</sup> St. Johnston (165), 23.

<sup>6</sup> Taylor (166), 231; Tregear (174), 119; Fison (40), 147-8; Thomson (169), 117, 121-2.

oblivion. Possibly this ferryman-myth represents a former custom of sending back the dead to the home of the race by drifting corpses out to sea in canoes. Occasionally in Samoa a body would be rudely embalmed (perhaps a relic of preservation when it was actually taken back, cf. p. 165), and set adrift on the ocean in a canoe;<sup>1</sup> in Niue (north-east of Tonga) bodies were sent out to sea in canoes, 'evidently with the idea that they would somehow reach the ancestral Fatherland,' and the same custom has been reported from Fiji.<sup>2</sup> The use of a canoe in embalming ritual in Samoa, where it supports the platform on which the body lies,<sup>3</sup> and in New Zealand as the frame on which the corpse is desiccated (among the Ngapuhi)<sup>4</sup> or as a depository for the bones (in the south),<sup>5</sup> is probably a survival of this custom, occurring as it does among two of the three peoples who have the ghost-ship myth (i. e. Maori, Samoans, and Fijians), and of whom the two last-named practised sending adrift in canoes. It is remarkable that both in Samoa and Fiji the canoe is used in funerary ritual; in the former the chief's body is laid out in the house in a decorated canoe in which it is carried in procession to the burial-place,<sup>6</sup> while in Fiji a boat is sometimes laid upon a chief's grave.<sup>7</sup> Possibly sending adrift was at one time also practised by the Maori, as in the Chatham Islands, which have been colonized by them, the dead are sometimes sent out to sea in their canoes, or on small rafts.<sup>8</sup> In Hawaii a high chief was often buried in a warrior's canoe, and his soul departed to *Wakea*, the home of the reputed father of the race; and as we are told that the bones of kings were frequently carried from one island to another, and bodies were sometimes partially embalmed, it seems highly probable that here is also a survival of actual attempts to take back the body to its original home.<sup>9</sup> In the Marquesas, again, the partially embalmed body was placed in a canoe-shaped coffin,<sup>10</sup> and in Tahiti the mummified corpse was taken to the *marae* on a boat.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stair (161), 178.

<sup>2</sup> Percy Smith (156), 207; Turner (176), 306; Thomson (168), 51.

<sup>3</sup> Turner (176), 149; id. (175), 232.

<sup>4</sup> Taylor (166), 219; Tregear (174), 105.

<sup>5</sup> Taylor (166), 219, 226; Tregear (174), 105.

<sup>6</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 118.

<sup>7</sup> Travers (172), 24; Dendy (29), 128.

<sup>8</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 253.

<sup>9</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 40.

<sup>10</sup> Bryan (16), 50, 53, 543.

<sup>11</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 183.

There are examples, too, of other ritual connected with migration and the return to an ancestral home beyond the sea. The ruling families in Mangaia (Hervey Group), 'whose ancestors came from the region of the setting sun,' have a special burial-cave on the west side of the island, in which are preserved hundreds of mummified bodies, and which is considered as the assembling place for the ghosts before they set off across the sea.<sup>1</sup> In the Chatham Islands bodies were always interred facing west as the way back to *Hawaiki* whither the soul returned, 'indicating thereby no doubt the direction from which the canoes came';<sup>2</sup> and were placed near the sea in Rotuma (north-east of Fiji)<sup>3</sup> and in Rapanui<sup>4</sup> (east of Paumotu Archipelago). As for canoe-burial, in the Lau Islands the chief's canoe-coffin is definitely stated to have been associated with his 'return to his ancestral home',<sup>5</sup> and perhaps the canoe-coffin in Tonga,<sup>6</sup> the displaying of a chief's body in a canoe in Rarotonga (Hervey Group),<sup>7</sup> and the canoe-shaped burial-cairns (*ahu poe-poe*) in Easter Island (where we also find exposure of the corpse with the head turned towards the sea),<sup>8</sup> may have had a similar connexion. On the other hand, the burial of the Samoan commoner in a rude coffin, which sometimes formed part of an old canoe but was more generally a hollowed-out tree-trunk,<sup>9</sup> was probably a mere matter of convenience.

The intimate connexion existing between the island afterworld and migration is shown by the change of direction in the Lau Islands. In Fiji (and generally elsewhere) souls 'jump off' towards the north-west, which is the direction of the original home and of their Paradise *Burotu*; in the Lau Islands *Burotu* is in the south or south-east, the direction of Tonga, whence came early immigrants to South Lau. One nearly extinct tribe at Matuku called the Burotu people, living on the side of the island facing south-east, think that their earliest ancestors came from Burotu; but the latter has now become a semi-mythical land connected with legends and folk-tales, although it is sometimes said to be seen lying in the sea to the south-east

<sup>1</sup> Gill (45), 71-2; Percy Smith (157), 171-2.

<sup>2</sup> Shand (148), 162.

<sup>4</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 233.

<sup>6</sup> Mariner (107), i. 398, 401.

<sup>8</sup> Routledge (141), 229, 230-1.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner (44), 431.

<sup>5</sup> St. Johnston (165), 23.

<sup>7</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 147.

<sup>9</sup> Stair (161), 180.



from the mountain-tops of Kadavu Island.<sup>1</sup> In some places in Polynesia, however, the island-idea of the ancestral spirit-land has become somewhat obscured through the lapse of time, though the departure to the west and the crossing of water still survive. Light is thrown on the connexion between *Hawaiki* and the ancestral home and an afterworld beneath the ocean by Dr. Gill, who points out how such ideas have become confused in Mangaia (Hervey Group). 'The Mangaians', he says, 'trace their origin to Avaiki, or nether world; but Avaiki, Hawai'i, and Savai'i, are but slightly different forms of one word. . . . No native of these days doubts that by Avaiki his ancestors really intended Savai'i, the largest island of the Samoan Group. In Polynesia, to sail *west* is to go *down*; to sail *east* is to go *up*. To sail from Samoa to Mangaia would be "to come up", or, to translate their vernacular closely, "to climb up". . . . In heathen times, when a man died, his spirit was supposed to return to Avaiki, i. e. the ancestral home of their ancestors in the region of sunset. In course of time this was expanded into the belief that Avaiki was a vast hollow beneath them.<sup>2</sup> A single tribe on Rarotonga and Mangaia trace their immediate origin to Tahiti, but assert that a few generations earlier their progenitors came from Avaiki.'<sup>3</sup>

Turning now to British New Guinea, we find indications of a similar connexion between a mythical island afterworld and an almost forgotten migration. The belief in an island spirit-land in the Torres Straits Islands, and in Kiwai Island in the Fly Estuary, is probably due to this cause, especially as in both places there are unmistakable signs of an underworld as the land of the dead, which may have been the original belief, at any rate of the earlier population. In the eastern Torres Straits Islands, where the inhabitants belong to the Kiwai Group, with traces of Papuan 'bushman element',<sup>4</sup> the afterworld of the Murray Islanders is a mythical place (*Beig*) under the island of Boigu (Talbot Island), to which the ghost sets out by diving into the sea from the most westerly point of Mer Island. The sun also dives down to *Beig*, when it goes under the sea at

<sup>1</sup> St. Johnston (165), 14, 18, 29-30, 45.

<sup>2</sup> Partly due to confusion with the belief in the commoners' underworld, cf. p. 68 n.

<sup>3</sup> Gill (45), 25.

<sup>4</sup> Haddon (55), 242; Joyce (76), 119.

sunset.<sup>1</sup> Among the Western Islanders the soul goes to *Kibu*, a mythical island situated to leeward, i.e. to westward, as the south-east trade-wind blows continuously for about eight months in the year. 'It is quite possible that the leeward is the dominant idea and not westward, or in the direction of the setting sun. To a voyaging people like these islanders, it is far more natural that their spirits should be carried by the prevailing wind rather than that they should beat to windward.'<sup>2</sup> Here we have perhaps to do with a fusion of ideas. The true afterworld may be underground, as seen by the situation of *Beig* and the story of the sun's descent (cf. pp. 39-40, 52, 83), while the migration from the mainland (perhaps actually from Boigu, which lies off the coast of New Guinea north-west from the Torres Straits Islands) is represented by the soul's journey to an island; in the Western Islands this journey is to 'leeward'—and incidentally to westward—as the natural direction, possibly supported by a setting-sun association similar to that found in the Murray Islands.

In the Massim District of South-east New Guinea we also find the belief in an island afterworld.<sup>3</sup> The true home of the dead of the Trobriands and Marshall Bennets, however, is underground; and as each of these island spirit-lands is situated in a definite locality well known to the natives themselves, and as this part of North Massim has undergone at least two migrations from Melanesia,<sup>4</sup> it is probable that the island-idea is entirely due to migration.

Thus in the first stage, where migration is a well-remembered fact, as in the south-east islands of the Malay Archipelago, the return to the ancestral home, and hence to the tribal spirit-land, is taken for granted. There is little connecting ritual beyond the elaboration of grave-gifts and the recent modification of burial-forms to fit in with the soul's journey across the sea, as in the Luang-Timorlaut group.

In the second stage, as illustrated by the Solomon Islands, the afterworld is still a real island, but the idea of a return to the ancestral home tends to disappear. On the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> Haddon (56), 252; Hunt (72), 8.

<sup>2</sup> Haddon (53), 318.

<sup>3</sup> Seligman (146), 733; Malinowski (105), 358, &c.; J. H. P. Murray (117), 129; Jenness and Ballantyne (75), 34, 145.

<sup>4</sup> Haddon (55), 251.

ritual connected with the soul's crossing the sea is specially developed, and has served to emphasize the journey rather than the destination of the ghost, which sometimes, indeed, never arrives at its island home, but becomes a 'sea-ghost', while the canoe of funerary ritual passes over into the mythical 'ship of the dead'.

In the third stage in Polynesia, both island and canoe have become mythical, and the true ancestral home in a real locality becomes more and more a wonderful legendary region, the home of gods and first men, lying far to the west in the track of the setting sun. There are many traces of ritual survivals which point to a former practice of sending back the corpse in a canoe to the land of its fathers, and connected in some places with embalming, but this meaning has now almost entirely disappeared. In the Torres Straits Islands and the North Massim District of British New Guinea, a similar connexion between an island afterworld and migration is found.



### III

#### SEA-BURIAL AND THE ISLAND AFTERWORLD

It will be convenient to distinguish three kinds of sea-burial by the following terms :

1. *Sending adrift*, i. e. floating the corpse out to sea, generally in a canoe.

2. *Throwing into the sea*.

3. *Deep-sea burial*, in which the body is taken out to sea in a canoe and sunk in deep water.

On the whole, sending adrift is a mark of honour, and probably connected with migration, while throwing into the sea is mostly confined to commoners (with the notable exception of Mortlock and Ruk in the Caroline Islands), and seems to be a mark of dishonour in Polynesia. It will, however, be more satisfactory to consider each area separately.

#### § I. *Polynesia and Micronesia.*

The sending adrift of bodies in canoes, sometimes partially embalmed, and its connexion with migration, has already been discussed above (pp. 10-11) ; it will therefore be sufficient to note that such a practice has been known in Samoa, Fiji, Niūe, and the Chatham Islands, and was possibly more widespread formerly, judging from the use of a canoe in funerary ritual, combined with partial mummification for chiefs, in Hawaii, the Marquesas, Tahiti, and New Zealand. Throwing into the sea, on the other hand, is rare, and evidently a mark of dishonour, occurring only in New Zealand for ordinary people (one authority only <sup>1</sup>), in Niūe (sometimes <sup>2</sup>), and for fishermen in Hawaii, where it is connected with propitiation of sharks and theories of reincarnation <sup>3</sup> and not with an island afterworld.

In the Marshall Islands in the east of Micronesia, commoners were wrapped in mats and sunk in the sea, <sup>4</sup> or, according to another account, were laid in a small boat with a little food, and with a favourable wind blowing were put into the sea on the

<sup>1</sup> Crozet (26), 65.

<sup>2</sup> Percy Smith (156), 207.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis (32), 336.

<sup>4</sup> Hearnheim (63), 85 ; Finsch (39), iii. 139.

west side of the islands.<sup>1</sup> If the latter is correct, we probably have also to do here with a survival of migration, especially as the dead man was carefully sent out to the west, the direction of various migrations into Micronesia. There seems to be, however, no trace of an island afterworld, although in the neighbouring Gilbert Islands the land of the dead lies across the sea to the west (Banapa and Tamana), or (more generally) to the north in connexion with an earlier migration into Samoa prior to arrival in the Gilbert Islands.<sup>2</sup> At the same time ghosts also remain near the living, and eschatological belief is centred in ancestor and ghost worship; this probably belongs to the culture of the chiefly class who inter their dead, which may have superseded any earlier beliefs. Commoners in Ulie, the most northerly of the Caroline Islands, are likewise laid on a frame or in a small boat and put in the sea, so that the tide may take them to the afterworld.<sup>3</sup>

## § 2. *South Melanesia.*

In the southern New Hebrides corpses are thrown into the sea in Tanna<sup>4</sup> and Aneiteum (commoners only) weighted with stones,<sup>5</sup> and also in the Loyalty Islands (commoners only,<sup>6</sup> but not mentioned by Ray or Hadfield); and it is remarkable that in all these the home of the dead is on an island,<sup>7</sup> instead of underground as in the islands immediately to the north. There is certainly some definite connexion here between sea-burial and an island afterworld. The peculiar form of the Tai (in Uvea, Loyalty Islands) sea-burial, where the corpse is bound to a log of wood or a banana-stump and floated out to sea,<sup>8</sup> suggests a modification of sending adrift, which is elsewhere connected with migration, and from Sarasin we learn that in the eighteenth century immigrants came to Uvea from Ouéa, an island in the Wallis Group, north of Tonga, bringing the name and one of the languages.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 339.

<sup>2</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 338; Turner (176), 294; Grimble (198), 48-9, 52; Finsch (39), iii. 138-40.

<sup>3</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 377.

<sup>4</sup> Paton (124), 69.

<sup>5</sup> G. Brown (15), 396; Turner (176), 326. <sup>6</sup> Ella (30), 490; id. (31), 642.

<sup>7</sup> Turner (176), 326; Hadfield (57), 161; Ray (133), 289; Meinicke (112), i. 200.

<sup>8</sup> Ella (31), 642.

<sup>9</sup> Sarasin (143), 289.

In the next island to the north, Eromanga, there is no sea-burial, and the dead go vaguely to the east,<sup>1</sup> possibly to a leaping-off place to the underworld (though this is not stated), and in New Caledonia on the south it is also absent, although the dead go under the sea.<sup>2</sup> Is sea-burial in this very restricted area due to a confusion of ideas between the leaping-off place on the coast of the early inhabitants (cf. pp. 42-3), the treatment of the body running parallel with the conduct of the ghost, and the return to an ancestral home in an island afterworld of immigrants from Polynesia, and thus a secondary result of migration?<sup>3</sup> Or is it the Polynesian method of disposing of insignificant people?

### § 3. *New Britain Archipelago.*

Ethnologically we may divide the New Britain Archipelago into the following divisions, leaving aside the Baining and the Sulka of the interior of New Britain, with whom we have no concern at the moment.

1. Dr. Rivers's so-called 'Dual Region', comprising the west coast of New Britain, the Gazelle Peninsula, the Duke of York Island, and the south of New Ireland.

2. Northern New Ireland and New Hanover.

3. Eastern New Ireland, at the south end of the Rossel Mountains, on the east coast, where are mixed peoples.

4. The Siara District on the south-east coast of New Ireland, which is a colony from Tanga and Aneri Island, and has little intercourse with its other neighbours.<sup>4</sup>

In the 'Dual Region' sea-burial is very prominent, in New Britain in the form of 'deep-sea burial' for chiefs, elsewhere as 'throwing into the sea' and various modified forms. Thus at St. George's Channel in the Gazelle Peninsula the rich and great were formerly towed out to sea in a canoe and sunk,<sup>5</sup> and although desiccation and interment is now the usual burial for chiefs, canoe-coffins are used for chiefs among the Barriai of the west part of the north coast,<sup>6</sup> at Matupi (formerly<sup>7</sup>), and in the North-east Gazelle Peninsula,<sup>8</sup> while at a chief's burial in

<sup>1</sup> Turner (176), 330.

<sup>2</sup> Glaumont (46), 119.

<sup>3</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 270-1.

<sup>4</sup> Parkinson (123), 259-61; Rivers (139), ii. 498 &c., 543-4.

<sup>5</sup> Parkinson (123), 79-80.

<sup>6</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 529.

<sup>7</sup> Burger (17), 32.

<sup>8</sup> Parkinson (123), 78; Stephan and Graebner (163), 178.



the Gazelle Peninsula and Duke of York Island the body is laid in a canoe on a platform during decay.<sup>1</sup> In the latter burial at sea, with stones tied to the toes so that the body remained upright, was the usual method for ordinary persons,<sup>2</sup> and in South New Ireland the corpses of certain classes of people were weighted with stones and sunk in the sea.<sup>3</sup> Pfeil could not discover which people used this method, except that it was always done for women;<sup>4</sup> but Parkinson says that every one knew how he would be buried, and that there were fixed rules (perhaps connected with totems) although it was difficult to discover them, as it was a question of introduced customs partially adopted by natives and united with their own; sea-burial was, however, more honourable than land-burial.<sup>5</sup> In the most southerly districts of New Ireland sea-burial survives in a somewhat degraded form, evidently the result of fusion of culture, a canoe-coffin being placed in trees by the shore in Watpi (Kandass District), and in Tongilam the head being cut off for preservation of the skull, while the body is thrown into the sea.<sup>6</sup> Mixed forms occur again in the East New Ireland District, where there has been contact with later cremating peoples of the north of the island, bodies being sometimes placed in canoes before being interred or burnt on a pyre.<sup>7</sup>

It will be noticed that sea-burial in this 'Dual Area' is thus generally for chiefs and never dishonourable, that a canoe is used (except when bodies are thrown into the sea weighted with stones), and that in South New Ireland it seems to belong to certain classes of people, as though associated originally with some special set of immigrants. It looks, therefore, as though deep-sea burial belongs to one particular set of immigrant people, perhaps with the idea of sending back the dead man to his ancestral home, of which the sinking of weighted bodies in the sea is a modification, either for less important people or in order to save the canoe. Later the practice seems to have been overlaid by the culture of a people who practised preservation above ground and interment of the bones, as is now the custom for chiefs.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pfeil (129), 79, 80; Danks (28), 356.

<sup>2</sup> G. Brown (15), 390.

<sup>4</sup> Pfeil (129), 80.

<sup>3</sup> Brown (15), 386.

<sup>6</sup> Stephan and Graebner (163), 117-18, 178.

<sup>5</sup> Parkinson (123), 275-6.

<sup>7</sup> Parkinson (123), 274; Rivers (139), ii. 545.

<sup>8</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 530-1.

As regards the spirit-land, in New Ireland the dead go to islands off the north-west coast<sup>1</sup> (but our only informant is Pfeil, and no district is mentioned), and in the Gazelle Peninsula there are various theories, including 'the darkest parts of the forest',<sup>2</sup> various parts of New Britain (e. g. a place entered through a certain hole behind the mountains),<sup>3</sup> a region in the east entered at sunrise,<sup>4</sup> or the 'islands of the blest' to which the rich may travel.<sup>5</sup> As the two last are only for wealthy people who have had sufficient *tabu*-money distributed at death, it is possible that this is another instance of an island afterworld due to migration and at first associated with the intruding race, which is connected with deep-sea burial and its various modifications. In the Siara District, on the other hand, low-class people are sunk in the sea;<sup>6</sup> perhaps this is because they represent the earlier inhabitants, while the more honourable method of exposure in the house and secondary burial belongs to the later colonists from Tanga and Aneri Island. In the Mortlock Group (South Carolines) those who fell in war were thrown into the sea that they might join the sea-god, and so were corpses of important people in Ruk<sup>7</sup> (Central Carolines). Can this be due to migration, the ancestral home being replaced by the sea-god, and be a degraded form of deep-sea burial as in New Ireland? Kubary thinks (though Finsch disagrees) that certain canoe-shaped images in Ruk are a proof that ancestors came thither in canoes.<sup>8</sup>

#### § 4. *Solomon Islands.*

As we have seen already (p. 7), the souls of the dead in the Solomon Islands all go to neighbouring islands. Throwing into the sea for commoners is practised throughout this area, and is considered the least honourable kind of funeral,<sup>9</sup> but there are also two other forms of sea-burial. Among the Mono-Alu of the Bougainville Straits, the bodies of commoners are taken out into deep water in a canoe, weighted with stones and sunk,

<sup>1</sup> Pfeil (129), 144.

<sup>2</sup> Pfeil (129), 144.

<sup>3</sup> Kleintitschen (79), 225; Brown (15), 397-8. <sup>4</sup> Parkinson (123), 79.

<sup>5</sup> Kleintitschen (79), 225.

<sup>6</sup> Parkinson (123), 308.

<sup>7</sup> Finsch (39), iii. 319.

<sup>8</sup> Finsch (39), iii. 322.

<sup>9</sup> Parkinson (123), 483; Williamson (189), 66; Guppy (51), 52; Codrington (22), 255, 258, 262; Rivers (139), ii. 267.

and the bones and ashes from the funeral pyres of the Mono chiefs were also sunk in the sea from canoes; a large fish is said to come and eat these bones, and is invoked with special ritual to watch over the dead.<sup>1</sup> In San Cristoval both chiefs and commoners are often buried in the sea, and their souls become incarnate in fish, especially sharks; but sometimes when buried on shore the remains are sealed with canoe-gum into the figure of a shark and floated in the sea, the first sea-animal which approaches it being its future incarnation.<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested above (p. 9) that the San Cristoval belief in sea-ghosts and reincarnation may be a later theory which has superseded the belief in a return to an ancestral home, fitting in with and perhaps suggested by such funeral rites as sending adrift and throwing into the sea, when their true meaning has been forgotten, especially since the arrival of the skull-preserving people and the development of *ataro*-worship. From the fact that chiefs in San Cristoval have sea-burial as well as commoners, and that elsewhere it is sometimes practised at the request of the dead man,<sup>3</sup> it may well have been more prevalent formerly—possibly before the introduction of the preservation and cult of the skull, which has been grafted on to exposure and other earlier burial-forms. In Savo a mother is asked whether her child belongs to the sea or land, and sea-burial or interment follows accordingly.<sup>4</sup> Is this a totemic distinction belonging to the earlier inhabitants, or a racial one connected with different rites for the descendants of immigrants? In any case it probably implies a different fate, as seen by the 'land' and 'sea' ghosts in San Cristoval, and also in Florida and Ysabel where the marine *tindalos* (ghosts) live in sharks or on a sacred islet.<sup>5</sup> In this connexion compare the 'fixed rules' for sea- and land-burial in South New Ireland (p. 18). At any rate there is still a very strong connexion between sea-burial and the island afterworld in the Solomon Islands, such ritual having probably helped to keep this belief alive, in spite of the intrusion of a later culture with more developed beliefs.

<sup>1</sup> Wheeler (181), 67, 73-5, 78, 81; Guppy (51), 52.

<sup>2</sup> Fox and Drew (42), 161.

<sup>3</sup> Codrington (22), 254, 262; Rivers (139), ii. 267; Fox and Drew (42), 161.

<sup>4</sup> Woodford (192), 37.

<sup>5</sup> Fox and Drew (42), 200; Penny (125), 58, 60.



The connexion of the three forms of sea-burial with the belief in an afterworld beyond the sea may now be briefly summarized.

1. *Sending adrift.* This is due to migration, evidently with the idea of sending back the corpse to its ancestral home, and everywhere (with the single exception of the Marshall Islands) occurs among immigrant peoples who believe in a home of the dead across the sea. In Polynesia it seems to be connected with some process of partial embalming (persisting after sending adrift has fallen into disuse), during which the body is often placed in a canoe, no doubt a ritual survival of actual sea-burial. Traces of other survivals also occur in chiefly rites in the use of canoe-coffins, canoe-shaped burial shrines, &c. A modified form of sending adrift is found in Uvea in the Loyalty Islands without such a belief, but this island is known to have received immigrants from Polynesia in the eighteenth century. There are also traces of it in the East Solomon Islands, where it has fused with the rites of the later skull-preserving cult, while the ancestral home has likewise been modified into an afterworld on some neighbouring island, or even further into a belief in sea-ghosts and reincarnation in sea-animals.

2. *Deep-sea burial.* This is a form of canoe sea-burial, chiefly found in New Britain and the Western Solomons, and seems also to be due to migration. It is, however, less closely connected with an island afterworld, and in many cases has been modified into throwing into the sea with weighted stones for lesser people, perhaps in order to save trouble and expense when the migration meaning became obscured. Traces of it appear as ritual survivals in the Bougainville Straits and in the 'Dual Region' of the New Britain Archipelago, in the sinking of bones and ashes in the sea, and in the use of a canoe in cremation and other burial-forms.

3. *Throwing into the sea.* This is the least honourable form of sea-burial, and can be either a method of disposing of the bodies of insignificant people, or a modification of deep-sea burial for less important persons, the corpse being generally weighted with stones. The sporadic sea-burial for commoners in Polynesia is an instance of the former, and there is no connexion with the afterworld, such burial being only a mark of insignificance; while in the 'Dual Region' of the New Britain Archipelago

throwing into the sea is of the degraded deep-sea burial type. But elsewhere (notably in the Solomon Islands) the two forms have converged, their main characteristic being a close connexion with the belief that the ghost must cross the sea to an island afterworld. Indeed, the survival of the island afterworld in such a definite form in the Solomon Islands is probably due to the practice of sea-burial; and the fact that the small group of the Southern New Hebrides is peculiar in possessing both sea-burial and a belief in a spirit-land across the sea, is another proof of the intimate connexion between the fate of the body and the destination of the soul in this respect.

It is remarkable that in every place (except the Marshall Islands and the South Carolines) where throwing into the water occurs, the belief in an afterworld across the sea is also found, generally as the chief home of the dead. In the 'Dual Region' of the New Britain Archipelago the island nature of the spirit-land is of a somewhat vague order, it is true, but we have shown above that throwing into the sea in this region is really a degenerate form of deep-sea burial, which is primarily a result of migration and less closely associated with beliefs. In the Marshall Islands again there is probably a connexion with migration from the west, and there may have been formerly a belief in a western home of the dead, as is found in the adjacent Gilbert Islands; while in the Mortlock Group sea-burial for warriors is definitely thought to enable their souls to join the sea-god, so that their spirit-land is actually in the sea.

## IV

### THE CANOE-COFFIN AND THE ISLAND AFTERWORLD

THE use of a canoe as a coffin or in funerary ritual is very widespread, and can hardly be attributed to any one particular cause; indeed, in many cases its origin is probably multiple, and due to the convergence of customs bearing a superficial resemblance. The very fact that a hollowed-out tree-trunk coffin is practically a rude kind of canoe may even have been an unconscious agent; such a resemblance might be increased accidentally, and then intentionally, by the primitive craftsman, until the canoe-coffin became the regular form, various reasons for its use being devised later. Often, too, there is no connexion with eschatological belief, which rather suggests a more practical origin, but here again we can merely postulate likely hypotheses in the absence of proofs of such a development, by pointing out those practices which seem to be associated with certain beliefs, or to have some particular origin.

#### § I. *Migration.*

In Polynesia, as we have already seen (pp. 10 and 15), the use of the canoe in chiefly funeral-rites is apparently a survival of sending the body adrift—sometimes partially embalmed—in a canoe, in order that it may reach the ancestral home, now conceived of as a (mythical) afterworld beyond or in the sea, to which the soul often travels in an immaterial canoe. Thus the ritual canoe, and its connexion with the land of the dead, is a secondary result of migration.

Very similar practices in New Caledonia may perhaps be explained in the same way, especially as this island has been influenced by contact with Polynesians, particularly as regards the high position of its chiefs,<sup>1</sup> although a vague belief in an afterworld beneath the sea at the end of the island<sup>2</sup> is all that remains of a possible ancestral home legend. Here the usual burial is exposure and cave-burial for all ranks, or sometimes

<sup>1</sup> Joyce (76), 119, 131.

<sup>2</sup> Glaumont (46), 119.



tree-burial, but in the case of chiefs a form of embalming sometimes takes place, after which the mummy is shut up in the house, which becomes tabu with all its contents. This treatment (so very similar to that found in Polynesia) is reserved for chiefs, and it is remarkable that they alone are placed in canoe-coffins at death.<sup>1</sup> In Maré, the most easterly of the Loyalty Islands, which has had close relations with New Caledonia, burial in dug-out canoes was a mark of distinction, and canoe-coffins containing the skeletons of chiefs were seen in cliff-shelters.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps here, too, it is a question of chiefly immigrants from Polynesia.

In the New Britain Archipelago, again, the use of the canoe is really a degradation of deep-sea burial, originally due to migration, surviving in funeral ritual when the oversea after-world with which it was associated has faded into the background (cf. pp. 18-19 and 21-2).

Although the natives of the Banks Islands and the Northern New Hebrides believe in an underworld, a canoe occasionally appears; in Vanua Levu (Fiji) a corpse is placed in a canoe during desiccation in the house, the bones being interred later, and in Ambryn a great man is exposed in a canoe in his house, and his bones are afterwards sunk at sea.<sup>3</sup> This bears a striking resemblance to the Saa (East Solomons) method of hanging up the corpse of an important man in his house in a canoe or in the figure of a sword-fish, the bones being interred later (though sometimes preserved for years) and the skull kept, and the exposure in a canoe on a stage also found in Saa.<sup>4</sup> We have already connected these East Solomon canoe-coffins with migration (p. 8). It is therefore possible that these two instances from Vanua Levu and Ambryn are due to the presence of the same set of immigrants (i. e. the Melanesian chiefs who practised preservation of the body, and whom Dr. Rivers identifies with his 'kava-people')<sup>5</sup> farther south, and are similarly due to migration.

Passing to Borneo, we again find evidence of the use of the canoe in funerary ritual among peoples who have migrated. The

<sup>1</sup> Glaumont (46), 128-30; Sarasin (143), 96-7.

<sup>2</sup> Sarasin (143), 243-5, 247.

<sup>3</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 265; Codrington (22), 288.

<sup>4</sup> Codrington (22), 261, 263; Rivers (139), ii. 267.

<sup>5</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 272-3, 277.

Olo Ngadjoe, whose funeral litanies concerning the journey of the soul describe in detail the route by which the corpse was formerly taken back to the region whence they migrated (cf. pp. 72 and 103), still convey the body in a decorated canoe to the mausoleum (*sandong*), and their words for coffin (*raung*) and canoe (*rohong*) are probably identical,<sup>1</sup> while the immigrant Kayans have canoe-shaped coffins with figures carved on them (probably relics of rowers), now explained as being the vessel in which the dead man crosses to the spirit-land,<sup>2</sup> although there is no indication of the latter being across the sea. Other details of the funerary ritual of this people are also due to modifications and elaborations in accordance with the doctrine of the soul's perilous journey, which in itself is the result of migration (cf. p. 192), and the belief in the soul's voyage in a canoe, which does not fit in with the general eschatological scheme in this region, has spread with the Kayan culture to other tribes such as the Bahau-Tring Dayaks<sup>3</sup> (who also have canoe-shaped coffins) and the Milano.<sup>4</sup> (The soul-boat belief of the latter belongs to a different category, cf. p. 29.) It is, of course, possible that the decorated canoe of the Olo Ngadjoe and the 'roughly canoe-shaped' coffin hollowed from a single log of the Kayan are elaborations of a hollowed-out log coffin, such as is sometimes used for chiefs in the Baram District,<sup>5</sup> or for the human victims at a chief's funeral in South Borneo,<sup>6</sup> rather than a degradation of a real canoe derived from migration. But as these two tribes are definitely known to have migrated, and the other Bornean peoples have a different kind of coffin, the Klemantans, Dusun, Murut, and some Bahau and Berawan using jars or *kliriengs* (mortuary-pillars) and wooden coffins,<sup>7</sup> while the temporary coffin of the Milano (a Klemantan people) represents a crocodile or dragon<sup>8</sup> and not a boat, the other seems the better explanation.

Kruijt considers that canoe-coffins in Indonesia were originally intended as vessels in which the deceased might cross to the

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 345-6, 357.

<sup>2</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 34-5.

<sup>3</sup> Kruijt (83), 361.

<sup>4</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 145; Bock (13), 225-6.

<sup>5</sup> Furness (43), 143.

<sup>6</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 157; Low (100), 335-6.

<sup>7</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 147, 150-4; Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 48-9; Evans (34), 391; id. (35), 159; Furness (43), 139-40; Nieuwenhuis (122), ii. 119; Ling Roth (94), 123-4.

<sup>8</sup> Laurence and Hewitt (91), 404.

spirit-land; later, when burial-rites began to assume larger proportions, the cover was invented from the hollowed-out trunk, so that it was possible to keep the corpse longer.<sup>1</sup> According to him the bridge to the afterworld replaces the idea of the canoe among peoples in the interior of large islands (like the Toradja, &c., of Celebes and the Karo-Battak of Sumatra) who have forgotten the sea which divided them from their ancestral home, and only remember that the soul must cross water. As the only known water was rivers, this replaced the sea, and the boat gradually became a bridge which separated the living from the dead, although the custom of burying the corpse in a canoe survived.<sup>2</sup> Among the Toradja of the Posso Sea the coffin is called *bangka*, which formerly probably meant a vessel.<sup>3</sup> This latter theory seems to be supported in Celebes by the occasional use of canoe-shaped coffins among the Toradja who generally have ordinary coffins or jars like the Minahassans,<sup>4</sup> the finding of canoe-shaped coffins at Nening in a rock-tomb (*liang*) destroyed by a landslide<sup>5</sup> as though the practice had been more general formerly, and the belief in Macassar that the dead are always seen in canoes, and that one or more bridges must be crossed to the spirit-land, although the latter is situated near a mountain.<sup>6</sup> In South and Central Nias, again, where the afterworld is reached by a sword-bridge over a river,<sup>7</sup> the coffin is made of a hollowed-out tree in the form of a boat,<sup>8</sup> the word for canoe being *owo* and that for coffin *owo-owo*;<sup>9</sup> on the other hand, in North Nias the corpse is placed in a log from a hollowed-out tree, while for rich people a coffin is made with more care,<sup>10</sup> as though the canoe were a later development rather than a degradation. In the Moluccas, the Galelores of Halmahera use canoe-coffins, and have a tradition that their ancestors came over the sea from the north-west;<sup>11</sup> they also believe that to dream of a canoe portends a death, evidently with the idea that the coffin is a boat,<sup>12</sup> and although their afterworld on the horizon reached by a bridge<sup>13</sup> has been influenced by Mohammedanism, there is also

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 357.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 357.

<sup>3</sup> Grubauer (49), 246, 289-90.

<sup>4</sup> Kruijt (83), 355, 362.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (83), 358.

<sup>6</sup> Riedel (135), 58; Perry (127), 141.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (83), 361, 378.

<sup>8</sup> Kruijt (83), 359-60.

<sup>9</sup> Wilken (184), 303.

<sup>10</sup> Kruijt (83), 360-1, 370.

<sup>11</sup> Modigliani (113), 278.

<sup>12</sup> Modigliani (113), 278.

<sup>13</sup> Kruijt (83), 358.

a belief that ghosts live on a sandbank or wander over the shore and sea,<sup>1</sup> an idea which may well be a reminiscence of migration.

Thus the connexion between the canoe-coffin and migration in Indonesia, though less complete than in Polynesia, seems to be supported by the evidence from Borneo, and to a lesser degree from Celebes, although the idea of the return to the ancestral home has almost disappeared with the course of time; and perhaps it is partly due to the canoe-coffin (especially in Borneo) that the theory of crossing water to the afterworld is still so prominent, in spite of its incongruity as regards the general picture of the soul's journey.

We will now consider other factors which may have contributed to the use of the canoe in funeral rites.

## § 2. *Convenience.*

The use of coffins made of hollowed-out trees, which bear such a strong resemblance to rough dug-out canoes, is probably responsible for canoe-coffins among many peoples, although such an origin is difficult to prove; it may be suspected, however, where no explanation from either history or belief is forthcoming.

In Lifu in the Loyalty Islands, we are told that a sick man has his coffin made ready from a hollowed-out tree-trunk, and if he recovers it is hung up in his hut until required. One man, however, fixed his to an outrigger and used it as a small fishing-canoe.<sup>2</sup> In the case of ordinary people an old canoe might be the most convenient form of coffin, and thus in Samoa, where commoners are buried quickly with little ceremony, a rude coffin or box is made, sometimes from part of an old canoe, but generally from a hollowed-out tree-trunk.<sup>3</sup> Here the canoe seems to be more or less accidental, especially as the commoners are not immigrants, and their souls do not cross the sea after death, but go down through a hole to the underworld.<sup>4</sup> In Espiritu Santo in the Banks Islands, ordinary people are interred, sometimes in old dug-out canoes;<sup>5</sup> this is perhaps another instance of an old (possibly worn-out) boat being the most convenient form of coffin for insignificant persons, rather

<sup>1</sup> Riedel (135), 66.      <sup>2</sup> Macfarlane (103), 13-14.      <sup>3</sup> Stair (161), 180.

<sup>4</sup> Brown (15), 221; Meinicke (112), ii. 118; Turner (176), 257.

<sup>5</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 266; Hagen and Pineau (58), 332.



than a vestige of migration, like the use of a canoe in chiefly ritual in Vanua Levu and Ambryn noted above (p. 24). Among sea-faring people a piece of old canoe would probably be near at hand. The Kiwai of the Fly River Estuary carry the corpse to the grave on a piece of broken canoe, which is afterwards left on the west side of the grave, as representing the canoe in which the dead man will go to the western spirit-land beyond the sea.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the bier was at first left by the grave because it was tabu and of no further good, and the legend of its use by the soul grew up later when the details of the ghostly journey became more elaborate, as other Papuans of West New Guinea who have no island afterworld make use of canoes for burial. At Kaimare in the Purari Delta the corpse was carried similarly on a piece of canoe (but Beaver is not aware that any belief was held in connexion with it);<sup>2</sup> the Bulaa of Hood Point place the body in a canoe anchored off the village during desiccation,<sup>3</sup> probably for practical reasons as they live in pile-dwellings in the water, and their afterworld is underground.<sup>4</sup> Farther west, we find burial in hollowed-out logs shaped like a canoe, or actual canoe-coffins, among the natives of Parimau on the Mimika River (Arefura Sea),<sup>5</sup> and the Papuans of Te Rhoon where food is collected for the death-feast in a canoe;<sup>6</sup> but there is no connexion with beliefs about the soul. Similar coffins occur to the south-west in the Aru Islands, in Baba, in Timorlaut, and in Roti.<sup>7</sup> From this it seems probable that in these parts the coffin was usually made from a hollowed-out tree shaped more or less like a canoe; this has facilitated the introduction of the Malay soul-boat in the Timorlaut-Baba-Leti area (cf. pp. 5-6, 29-30), which, superimposed upon the canoe-shaped coffin of practical origin, has become incorporated in ritual and belief.

### § 3. *Property.*

In some cases the canoe (especially where an old one is used instead of making a special coffin) may be one of the possessions

<sup>1</sup> Landtmann (89), 302; id. (88), 63; Beaver (7), 176, 177.

<sup>2</sup> Beaver (7), 176.

<sup>3</sup> Guise (50), 210.

<sup>4</sup> Guise (50), 216.

<sup>5</sup> Rawling (132), 136, 224; Wollaston (191), 138-9.

<sup>6</sup> Kruijt (83), 339.

<sup>7</sup> Riedel (136), 267, 306, 359; Kruijt (83), 358; Forbes (41), 322; Bastian (6), ii. 65.

of the dead man, and thus really part of the grave-furniture. The broken piece of canoe at Papuan funerals mentioned above (p. 28) may be a portion of his belongings destroyed at his death, like the canoe hacked to pieces in the Aru Islands,<sup>1</sup> and explained as being for his use in the hereafter (cf. p. 189). In Lifu in the Loyalty Islands people were interred in the canoes they had used during life, and if a man had no canoe, he was simply placed in the grave and covered with earth.<sup>2</sup> In the Mariannes a rudder was put on a chief's grave if he were a sea-farer, and a spear if a warrior,<sup>3</sup> and the old rudder similarly placed in the Marshall Islands<sup>4</sup> is probably likewise the property of the dead man, and a mark of his calling (cf. p. 186).

#### § 4. *Soul-boat.*

The use of a canoe containing food and offerings for the dead man, generally with the idea that it is used by the soul in its journey to the other world, is very limited in distribution, and is apparently due to the influence of the Malay disease-boat. The latter is a mode of expelling evil spirits, chiefly of disease, by concentrating them or their power in a canoe, which is drifted down stream or out to sea; it is a common Malay practice, which has spread to neighbouring tribes, and is found especially in Borneo, Ceram, Buru, and Timorlaut.<sup>5</sup>

In Sarawak the Milano place decorated boats made of the sago-palms of the deceased near graves, in which the dead man is supposed to travel, or which are for his use in the afterworld, and formerly used to drift a boat containing food and his personal possessions out to sea, in order that he might meet with these necessities,<sup>6</sup> while among the Sea-Dyaks a tiny boat of bamboo is ritually 'sent to fetch the dead' (i. e. thrown away behind the house) at the Festival of departed spirits.<sup>7</sup> As both these peoples have come into contact with the Malays, the Milano especially sharing to some extent the religious customs of the latter,<sup>8</sup> it seems probable that this special soul-boat development is due to the influence of the disease-boat upon the use of a canoe

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 358.

<sup>2</sup> Hadfield (57), 216-17.

<sup>3</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 404.

<sup>4</sup> Finsch (39), iii. 139; Meinicke (112), ii. 338.

<sup>5</sup> Myers (118), 728.

<sup>6</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 145, quoting Brooke.

<sup>7</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 208.

<sup>8</sup> Laurence and Hewitt (91), 406.

in burial rites, whether as a development of the hollowed-out coffin, or as grave-furniture, or as a vestige of migration borrowed from the Kayans.

We have already shown a similar extension of the disease-boat in Timorlaut, Baba, and Leti (cf. pp. 6 and 28).

We may now conveniently summarize the results obtained with regard to the belief in an afterworld beyond the sea.

1. *Migration.* In most cases in the area under consideration this afterworld is a secondary result of migration, and originally embodied the idea of a return of the soul (and sometimes of the body also) to the ancestral home. The latter is primarily a real island, but with the lapse of time tends to become a mythical afterworld across, or even in, the sea, around which legends have grown up in Polynesia until it has become the abode of gods and deified chiefs.

In places where migration is relatively recent there is little connexion with ritual beyond comparatively modern modifications designed to conform to the belief in an island spirit-land. In Polynesia a former practice of sending adrift partially embalmed bodies in a canoe, in order that the dead might return to the home of the race, survives in the many ritual uses of the canoe in chiefly funeral rites, often in connexion with embalming, although its original significance has now been lost, and it has become embodied in eschatological belief in the form of a soul-boat in which ghosts cross to their future abode. In the Solomon Islands, where the migration is less remote, the idea of a return to the tribal home is already obscured; there is, however, so much ritual suggestive of crossing water after death, and the connexion between the disposal of the body and the destination of the soul is so close, that the belief in a island afterworld has survived the intrusion of fresh culture-waves, and in San Cristoval has produced the sea-ghost.

Other results of migration appear in the use of the canoe-coffin among peoples who do not possess an island afterworld, especially the Kayan and Olo Ngadjoe of Borneo: here the canoe originally intended to take back the dead man to his former home has become a ritual object representing the mythical boat in which the soul travels to the spirit-land, and

is responsible for the theory of crossing water on the way to the home of the dead, which is not in accordance with the supposed locality of the latter.

2. *Sea-burial*. As regards sea-burial, it appears that sending adrift is particularly associated with Polynesian culture, and rests on the historical fact of an ancestral home across the sea ; when the latter passes over into the realm of legend, this form of sea-burial tends to die out, surviving only in isolated uses of the canoe in ritual to which but little meaning is attached and in the myth concerning the ' ship-of-the-dead '.

Throwing into the sea, on the other hand, is definitely connected with an island afterworld, and in its true form serves to emphasize the locality of the land of the dead. As a degraded kind of deep-sea burial, it becomes a part of ritual, or a special burial-form for certain people, and its meaning is lost. This distinction, however, is not very apparent, as modifications of deep-sea burial have often converged with throwing into the sea in its simple form, especially in New Ireland. But sea-burial as such, particularly in the Solomon Islands, seems to be responsible for preserving and crystallizing a belief in a home of the dead across or in the sea, chiefly, no doubt, because of the close relation between the treatment of the body and the fate of the soul, and is almost always associated with an island afterworld of some sort.

3. *The Canoe-Coffin*. The canoe-coffin has fundamentally but little to do with the afterworld. In certain areas, notably in Polynesia and among the Olo Ngadjoe and Kayans of Borneo, it is a vestige of migration, which has passed over into eschatological belief with regard to the soul's journey to the land of the dead. Under the influence of the Malay disease-boat in Sarawak, and also in the Timorlaut-Baba-Leti area, it has gained for itself a prominent place in funeral rites, and has assumed a ritual significance affecting the journey and future life of the deceased.

In other places the use of the canoe-coffin probably rests primarily on convenience, or on the tabu which attaches to the dead man's possessions, and has really no connexion with belief or association with crossing water to the spirit-land, although it easily lends itself to later interpretations of this nature.



## V

### THE UNDERWORLD

THE most definite belief in an underground afterworld is found in South Melanesia, in New Zealand, and among the Papuan tribes of New Guinea; but it is also scattered over a great part of Indonesia, notably among the Andamanese, Tagbanuas of Palawan, Dusun of Borneo, and Toradja of Celebes, and was probably much more general formerly.<sup>1</sup> It also occurs in Polynesia as an abode for commoners, and seems to be connected with the culture of the earlier inhabitants.

Some authors, however, mention a 'Hades', and conclude that it is under the earth, but on closer examination it appears that the people themselves have no such definite theory. Thus the Mantra of the Malay Peninsula have a gloomy spirit-land for those who have been the victims of violence, which may possibly be underground, but which is merely described vaguely as a barren and disagreeable place.<sup>2</sup> Again, Meinicke when speaking of the Polynesian afterworld *Po* or *Avaiki* constantly calls it the 'Unterwelt', but from other authorities we learn that it is seldom thought of as under the sea, but generally beyond the western ocean, while Thurnwald speaks of the Buin spirit-land (in a volcano) alternately as 'Jenseits' or 'Unterwelt'.<sup>3</sup>

It has been suggested by Dr. Rivers that inhumation (in the sitting posture) is associated with a home of the dead underground, the grave being a passage to the other world;<sup>4</sup> but this theory is not supported by the evidence. The entrance to the underworld is generally through a cave or hole, not through the grave, inhumation is frequently a recent substitution for the older practice of exposure, and the connexion with sitting-burial (not necessarily interment) and this form of afterworld is due to ethnological causes (cf. p. 43). Cf. Appendix II for details.

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 372.

<sup>2</sup> Martin (109), 953; Logan (99), 326; Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 321-2.

<sup>3</sup> Meinicke (112), i. 200; ii. 81, 147; Thurnwald (171), i. 317.

<sup>4</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 274, 276.

§ I. *Volcanoes.*

That a belief in an underground afterworld may be connected with the presence of volcanic action is suggested by Dr. Rivers,<sup>1</sup> and it certainly seems probable that such natural phenomena as volcanic eruptions and earthquake shocks would tend to strengthen such a theory. New Zealand had many active volcanoes, and has suffered much from earthquakes; in South Melanesia (the chief centre of this belief) there is much volcanic activity, and the ghost generally enters the underworld through some special volcanic vent.<sup>2</sup> This connexion is especially clear in Lepers Island (New Hebrides), where the entrance to the underworld is by a volcanic vent near a lake which fills the crater of the island; on the farther side, which no man has reached, is a volcanic vent which sends up clouds of steam, and these are considered to be a sign that *Nggalevu*, the headman of the spirit-land, is there.<sup>3</sup> The passage to the Samoan *Nonoa* (which is under the earth) is on an actively volcanic island,<sup>4</sup> and in Hawaii where the souls of commoners go underground, dead bodies are sometimes thrown down a volcanic crater,<sup>5</sup> while in Tahiti where there are no volcanoes none of the homes of the dead are beneath the earth.<sup>6</sup> Moreover in the Western Solomons, where the spirit-land is actually in a volcano, there is some evidence to show that the ghosts' abode was at one time thought to be in a cave and probably below the earth, and not in an island as at present.<sup>7</sup> Again, the Kai of Huon Gulf (ex-German New Guinea) have a spirit-land underground, and slight earthquake shocks are supposed to be the ghost 'leaping down';<sup>8</sup> and the ghost-cave in Eddystone Island, which leads under the ground, is connected with an earthquake.<sup>9</sup>

In Indonesia, however, underground afterworlds occur in Central Celebes, Palawan, Sangir Island (north of Celebes), Borneo, among the Toba-Battak of Sumatra, in Nias, and the Andaman Islands, and of these only Sumatra and Sangir Island

<sup>1</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 263.<sup>2</sup> Codrington (22), 273, 285.<sup>3</sup> Codrington (22), 285-6.<sup>4</sup> Turner (176), 257; Stair (161), 218; Meinicke (112), ii. 118; Rivers (159), ii. 263.<sup>5</sup> Bryan (16), 50, 583; Ellis (32), 336; Jarves (73), 74.<sup>6</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 263.<sup>7</sup> Rivers (138), 402-3; Hocart (200), 95, 101<sup>8</sup> Keysser (77), iii. 149.<sup>9</sup> Hocart (200), 100.

are volcanic. In this area the connexion is rather with caves and holes in the ground (cf. pp. 35-6) than with phenomena of a volcanic nature, though among the Aka-Kede Andamanese earthquakes are associated with the underworld.<sup>1</sup>

## § 2. *Cave-Burial.*

The disposal of dead bodies or bones in caves, which often appear to lead down into the depths of the earth, may in some instances have suggested the idea that the home of the dead is underground, although they may originally have been selected as burial-places because their inaccessibility would serve as a protection against desecration by enemies, which is certainly the present motive in many places.<sup>2</sup> Thus in Lifu and Uvea in the Loyalty Islands great precautions are taken against stealing and eating the body: if interred, careful watch was kept over the grave until decomposition had set in, but often the dead were taken to some secret inaccessible cave in a precipitous rock, two or three friends conveying the body at night by a circuitous route to avoid discovery.<sup>3</sup> Again among many Fijian tribes a chief's burial-place is kept secret for fear of desecration by enemies, the grave being watched day and night by armed warriors, and the bones taken later by night to an inaccessible cave in the mountains: <sup>4</sup> traces of the former prevalence of secret burial appear in the peculiar rites with regard to the first sod when digging a grave, probably a survival of replacing the surface sods upon the grave in order to disguise the spot where the corpse had been buried.<sup>5</sup> Secret cave-burial also occurs in Hawaii,<sup>6</sup> the Marquesas,<sup>7</sup> Easter Island,<sup>8</sup> and in conjunction with an underworld in New Zealand<sup>9</sup> and the Banks Islands (S. Melanesia): in the latter the fear of removal of the bones by enemies for charms often leads to sham burials.<sup>10</sup>

Indeed the connexion between caves and the dead is very widespread in Melanesia. In the North and South Massim Districts of British New Guinea, there seems to be a belief in an

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Brown (197), 146-7.

<sup>2</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 271.

<sup>3</sup> Hadfield (57), 9, 216-17; Ray (133), 288.

<sup>4</sup> Fison (40), 141.

<sup>5</sup> Fison (40), 142.

<sup>6</sup> Bryan (16), 53; Ellis (32), 335-6.

<sup>7</sup> Bässler (5), 225.

<sup>8</sup> Routledge (141), 231-2.

<sup>9</sup> Taylor (166), 220; Elsdon Best (9), 199, 218; Tregear (174), 105; Cowan (24), 356; White (182), iii. 233; iv. 183-5.

<sup>10</sup> Codrington (22), 269, 273.

underworld connected with caves, although the dead now usually go to some island. A deep hole forms the entrance to the Marshall Bennets underworld, and to the valley afterworld of the Wedau and Wamira of Bartle Bay, while the inhabitants of Kwato and Tube-Tube go to their island spirit-lands through caves which lead under the earth and sea, and in South Massim generally the dead pass under the earth to their new abode. Moreover, there is a legend in the Trobriands that the first people came up from the underworld through caves, and departed spirits in *Tuma* are generally thought to dwell under the earth there; while cave-burial is practised in Murua (Trobriands) and Kwaia-wata (Marshall Bennets).<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere in New Guinea, the Bulaa of Hood Point have a similar origin-legend, and their dead go to an underworld through a cave;<sup>2</sup> in the Huon Gulf the afterworld is underground, entered by a cave among the Kai and Tami, and both the Mountain Kai and the Sialum have cave-burial.<sup>3</sup> Other isolated Melanesian instances of this connexion with caves may be mentioned here. The ghosts in Lifu (Loyalty Islands) and in New Caledonia (sometimes), in Eddystone Island,<sup>4</sup> and those of commoners in San Cristoval,<sup>5</sup> live in caves, cave-burial is common in New Caledonia,<sup>6</sup> and in Lifu dead bodies are buried in caves on a reef off the coast, which is also considered as being the spirit-land.<sup>7</sup> Traces of a similar connexion of caves with the dead occur in New Britain, where the entrance to the afterworld is through a hole behind some distant hills, and all strange noises are supposed to be caused by the spirits moving in that hole,<sup>8</sup> and in New Ireland.

In Indonesia we have less evidence, but it is much more definite. The underworlds of the Toradja (Celebes) and Tagbanuas (Philippines) are both entered through caves, and that of the Dusun through holes in the ground, and all practise cave-

<sup>1</sup> Seligman (146), 12, 655, 657, 679, 726, 727, 729, 731, 733; Newton (121), 219; Field (38), 443; Abel (1), 97; Malinowski (105), 370.

<sup>2</sup> Guise (50), 206, 216.

<sup>3</sup> Keysser (77), iii. 149; Bammler (4), iii. 514, 518; Zahn (195), iii. 324; Lehner (93), iii. 430; Neuhauss (119), i. 170.

<sup>4</sup> Hocart (67), 159-60; (200), 95, 101; Rivers (138), 396.

<sup>5</sup> Codrington (22), 258.

<sup>6</sup> Turner (176), 345-7; Sarasin (143), 82, 96, 100, 171; Glaumont (46), 127.

<sup>7</sup> Hadfield (57) 9, 214-16; Ray (133), 288.

<sup>8</sup> G. Brown (15), 241, 390, 397-8.



burial.<sup>1</sup> Kruijt considers that the practice of placing remains in a cave or in a pit has its root in the belief that these are entrances to the underworld. He even bases his hypothesis that an underground afterworld was originally the universal belief in Indonesia on the fact that among peoples who no longer have this belief bone-caves are found, and that cave-burial is still customary among peoples whose dead go to a mountain or valley, &c.<sup>2</sup> Certainly in Indonesia cave-burial is very widespread (cf. details, below), and was probably more universal formerly, but it is comparatively rarely associated with an underworld. Of peoples who have the latter belief, the Toradja, Dusun, and (sometimes) the Tagbanuas have cave-burial, of the Sangirese, we have no information, and the Toba-Battak dig up the corpse at the death-feast and inter it later,<sup>3</sup> possibly in a cave, as cave-burial generally follows exhumation in this type of funeral (cf. p. 102). In Nias the secret place where the exhumed bones are hidden<sup>4</sup> may also be a cave, but we have no definite information. Thus of six instances, three have cave-burial, two may have it, and of the other evidence is lacking. Elsewhere in Indonesia cave-burial occurs among the natives of Aru, Davaloor (in Baba), Baba Timorlaut (all with island afterworlds which are probably a later development of a spirit-land on earth, cf. pp. 4-6), in Ceram, and among the Bontoc Igorots of Luzon, Papuans of Dutch New Guinea, immigrant Papuans in the Kei Islands, Prihing-Bahau of Borneo (all with spirit-land on earth), Tolembatu of Celebes, and possibly the Semang of the Malay Peninsula (original beliefs uncertain owing to Malay influence). It therefore seems more in accordance with the facts to conclude that as cave-burial is a very common form of burial in Indonesia, it has among certain peoples suggested the location of the afterworld beneath the earth and entered through the burial-cave (not the other way round as Kruijt supposes). This is borne out by analogies from elsewhere. Thus cave-burial is very widespread in Polynesia, particularly for chiefs, in order to ensure secrecy, as for instance in the Lau Islands,<sup>5</sup> Fiji,<sup>6</sup> Easter Island<sup>7</sup> and the Paumotu Archipelago,<sup>8</sup> where there is no belief in an under-

<sup>1</sup> Grubauer (49), 200; Kruijt (83), 329, 372; Sarasin (142), i. 272; Sawyer (144), 313; Worcester (193), 110, 495.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 372.

<sup>3</sup> Kruijt (83), 332.

<sup>4</sup> De Zwaan (196), 237.

<sup>5</sup> St. Johnston (165), 23.

<sup>6</sup> Fison (40), 143-4.

<sup>7</sup> Routledge (141), 231-2.

<sup>8</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 218, 233.

world. In Polynesia, of course, matters are complicated by the presence of two sets of beliefs, often partially fused, and whether cave-burial actually suggested or only lent additional support to the commoners' theory of an underworld, it is impossible to say. In some places, at any rate, it has succeeded (assisted no doubt by the existing belief in an underworld for commoners) in modifying the chiefly island afterworld. Thus in Mangaia where the dead are buried in caves on the west of the island, or thrown down deep chasms, and ghosts return to the home of their ancestors *Avaiiki*, the souls live temporally in the subterranean passages of these caves, and the afterworld is now thought of as a vast cavern under the earth;<sup>1</sup> and although this may be partly due to other causes\* (cf. p. 12), there can be no doubt that cave-burial has been an important contributory factor. In the Marquesas too, where cave-burial is practised, the ancestral island-home *Hawaiki* has been modified into an underworld beneath the sea.<sup>2</sup>

As regards South Melanesia, the stronghold of the underworld belief, cave-burial occurs in the Banks Islands,<sup>3</sup> Ambryn, Eromanga,<sup>4</sup> Aneiteum<sup>5</sup> (New Hebrides), Lifu,<sup>6</sup> Maré and Uvea (Loyalty Islands), and New Caledonia.<sup>7</sup> (That the afterworld in Aneiteum and Lifu is not underground is probably due to recent immigration from Polynesia.) In Torres Islands exposure was the usual method,<sup>8</sup> and in the New Hebrides is alternative to the present custom of interment:<sup>9</sup> it is possible that here too the bones were formerly deposited in caves as a final resting-place, though this method only survives in the islands mentioned above.

\* In Mangaia the home of the dead beneath the earth, now identified with *Avaiiki* and *Po*, must have been originally the commoners' underworld found elsewhere in Polynesia, and associated with the earlier population (cf. p. 45. &c.). Compare for instance the two distinct routes for ghosts; one a former leaping-off place at a cliff on the coast into a 'gloomy opening', now 'forever closed' according to legend, the other a track across the western sea towards the setting sun.<sup>1</sup> (Cf. p. 82 and Appendix I.)

<sup>1</sup> Gill (201), 154-6, 158.

<sup>1</sup> Gill (45), 25, 71, 72, 75; Percy Smith (157), 171-2; Meinicke (112), ii. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 253; Bässler (5), 225.

<sup>3</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 265; Codrington (22), 272.

<sup>4</sup> Hagen and Pineau (58), 332; Turner (176), 330. <sup>5</sup> G. Brown (15), 396.

<sup>6</sup> Ella (30), 490, 642; Sarasin (143), 245, 274, 287; Hadfield (57), 216.

<sup>7</sup> Sarasin (143), 82, 96, 171; Glaumont (46), 127.

<sup>8</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 265.

<sup>9</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 266; Codrington (22), 288; Lamb (86), 118; Watt Leggatt (180), 700; Hagen and Pineau (58), 332.

## § 3. 'Hades.'

The conception of the underworld as a place of punishment has often been unduly exaggerated by observers (as for example by missionaries, like Ellis and Williams, who speak of 'Heaven' and 'Hell'),<sup>1</sup> and there is always the possibility of foreign influence, and the identification of the native underworld with Hell as a place of torment. The true afterworld of the Toba-Battak (who have come into contact with Mohammedanism) is beneath the ground, but now souls wander about the earth, and the underworld is considered a punishment.<sup>2</sup> But certainly in most places where the home of the dead is underground, the life there is considered as less pleasant than this one, or it is an alternative to some better spirit-land for certain kinds of people. In the Carolines, for instance, less desirable souls go to underground abodes, while more agreeable regions are reserved for the rest of the dead.<sup>3</sup> In Polynesia the underground afterworld for commoners, such as the Samoan *Noanoa*, the 'Place of the Bound' is a dreaded place of misery;<sup>4</sup> but here again ethnological influences have been at work, and have transformed the rather melancholy underworld of the earlier inhabitants into a veritable Hell for miserable commoners.

And even where the underworld is not directly contrasted with a happier home of the dead, it is considered as a dreary dark abode, as in the Ellice Islands,<sup>5</sup> among the Andamanese,<sup>6</sup> and the Toradja,<sup>7</sup> and generally in South Melanesia<sup>8</sup> (cf. p. 135, &c.). In the latter region the underworld, known as *Panoi*, &c., is poor, dark, empty, and unreal, although the life there is generally said to be happy; some say that ghosts eat nothing, and others that they eat excrement and rotten erythmia-wood.<sup>9</sup> It is, however, not a 'place of punishment', but is inclined to be a gloomy home of shades like the Hades of the Ancient Greeks.

The Papuan underground afterworlds, on the other hand, do

<sup>1</sup> J. Williams (185), 145; Ellis (33), i. 397.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 374-5.

<sup>3</sup> Christian (21), 75, 385.

<sup>4</sup> Stair (161), 217; Turner (176), 259.

<sup>5</sup> Turner (176), 292-3; Percy Smith (155), 39-40.

<sup>6</sup> Man (106), 93.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (83), 380.

<sup>8</sup> Watt Leggatt (180), 701; Macdonald (102), 730.

<sup>9</sup> Codrington (22), 274-5, 276, 286, 288; Watt Leggatt (180), 701; Macdonald (102), 730.

not seem to be specially gloomy, that of the Tami of Huon Gulf being in all respects better than this one.<sup>1</sup>

The idea that everything in the underworld is opposite to this world, so that black signifies white, right left, and so on, is very common in Indonesia, and is believed by Kruijt to be due to the idea of the change of day and night in the regions below to which the sun goes at sunset, from which comes the belief that souls appear and wander about at night.<sup>2</sup> The latter belief, however, is so widespread and so natural, especially to a primitive people to whom the hours of darkness are hours of danger physical or otherwise, that it does not seem necessary to connect it with any one particular form of eschatological doctrine. The idea of contraries may be partly connected with the common method of deceiving spirits, or 'barring the ghost', which governs so many details of funerary ritual, such as taking the corpse through a different door (Fiji,<sup>3</sup> &c.), following a circuitous route, putting on clothes and ornaments upside down (Solomon Islands, Banks Islands,<sup>4</sup> &c.), and so forth. This may in some places have given rise to the idea that everything that concerns spirits is the opposite to earth, such as the Galelarese (Moluccas) stories of how a ghost was recognized as such by this means,<sup>5</sup> the Olo-Ngadjoe belief that black signifies white, &c., for ghosts,<sup>6</sup> and the explanations of breaking the grave-gifts given by the Sakai of Kinta Ulu<sup>7</sup> (Perak) and the Klemantans of Borneo<sup>8</sup> (cf. pp. 187-8). The idea that it is night in the other world when it is day here certainly seems connected with an underworld: it occurs in Eddystone Island (where everything connected with the dead is said backwards),<sup>9</sup> among the Mono-Alu (dead sometimes said to live underground),<sup>10</sup> at Waga-Waga<sup>11</sup> (South Massim), in the Torres Straits Islands,<sup>12</sup> among the Bukava of ex-German New Guinea,<sup>13</sup> and the Toba-Battak of Sumatra.<sup>14</sup> All these have underground afterworlds, except Eddystone Island and Waga-Waga, but it is probable that such a belief existed formerly in these two also (cf. pp. 43-4). This is

<sup>1</sup> Bammler (4), iii. 514.      <sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 380-1.      <sup>3</sup> Williams (186), 168.

<sup>4</sup> Codrington (22), 254, 268.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (83), 380.

<sup>6</sup> Kruijt (83), 380.      <sup>7</sup> Evans (36), 181.      <sup>8</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 36.

<sup>9</sup> Hocart (67), 160, and verbal information.

<sup>10</sup> Wheeler (181), 110-11.

<sup>11</sup> Seligman (146), 655.

<sup>12</sup> Haddon (56), 252.

<sup>13</sup> Lehner (93), iii. 430-1.

<sup>14</sup> Kruijt (83), 374.



connected with the idea that the soul enters the underworld where the sun rises or sets, which occurs among the Bukaua of Huon Gulf,<sup>1</sup> in the Torres Straits Islands,<sup>2</sup> among the Toradja of Celebes,<sup>3</sup> and the Andamanese,<sup>4</sup> &c. (cf. pp. 83-4).

Thus we may conclude that there is a definite connexion between an underworld and volcanic activity in South Melanesia and Polynesia, and probably in the Solomon Islands, and it is possible that volcanic phenomena may even have suggested this belief, which in these regions belongs to the indigenous inhabitants rather than to later intruders. It is noticeable that nowhere else in the area under consideration is the theory of an afterworld underground so general or so definite.

The influence of cave-burial upon beliefs in an afterworld beneath the ground is even more pronounced. Cave-burial is a very common mode of disposal, especially for final bone-burial, in order to secure the remains from enemies, and is so much more widely distributed than the underworld that it cannot be the result of such a belief. On the contrary it appears that among certain peoples, notably in Indonesia, cave-burial is actually responsible for the idea that the home of the dead is underground.

A cave-entrance to the underworld is often the direct result of cave-burial. This is especially evident among the Toradja of Celebes, the Tagbanuas of Palawan, and the Dusun of Borneo, and also in Mangaia in the Hervey Group. The underworld in South Melanesia and for commoners in Polynesia is reached through holes in the ground (cf. connexion with volcanoes, p. 33), and is probably associated with cave-burial, which occurs for commoners in Hawaii and the Marquesas; but cave-burial is also frequently used for Polynesian chiefs from motives of secrecy, and this seems to have confused the two beliefs. Perhaps it is partly responsible for the idea that *Po* is beneath the sea. Besides the coincidence of cave-burial and the underworld belief in South Melanesia and New Zealand, there are various traces of a connexion between ghosts and caves (probably associated with an underworld) in other parts of Melanesia, perhaps part of the same culture.

<sup>1</sup> Lehner (93), iii. 430-1.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 369-70.

<sup>3</sup> Haddon (56), 252.

<sup>4</sup> Man (106), 93.

The association in British New Guinea (especially the Massim District) of beliefs in an underground afterworld, a cave as the entrance, an underground route to the spirit-land, an origin-legend of first men coming up from under the earth through caves, and some cases of cave-burial, indicates the existence of the idea of a land of the dead under the earth reached through a cave or hole in the ground, and possibly connected with cave-burial (such as is now found among the Kai of Huon Gulf), and also resembling the eschatological doctrine of South Melanesia, to which we shall return later. Perhaps the cave-entrance replaced the volcanic vent owing to topographical conditions.

On the whole the underground afterworld is considered as somewhat gloomy or unreal, a not unnatural inference from its supposed position within the earth. In Polynesia, its development into a place of punishment or the abode of the less desirable dead, is due to its being part of the culture of the earlier conquered race, and the same applies in a less degree to Indonesia (cf. p. 53). The supposition that the sun illumines these nether regions when it is night here is another characteristic, and may have lent additional support to the idea that everything there is the opposite of this world, although the latter theory is not confined to underground afterworlds, but is in accordance with the many methods adopted in order to deceive or control ghosts and spirits. Ritual connected with the setting sun, and the entrance of the soul to the underworld at sunset, will be dealt with later on (cf. pp. 83-4).

## VI

### THE ETHNOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE UNDERWORLD

WE will now consider the distribution of the underworld with regard to its ethnological significance, not only because of the importance of the ethnological problems of this region, but on account of the light that such a discussion may throw upon the various beliefs and practices connected with burial and the life after death.

#### § I. *Melanesia.*

In South Melanesia, i.e. from Torres Islands to Pentecost in the New Hebrides, we find a belief in an underground afterworld, of which the chief characteristics are as follows :

- (1) It is entered by volcanic vents, holes in the ground, or unknown mouths.
- (2) The ghosts congregate at some special place, often at a 'leaping-off place' on the coast, in order to descend.
- (3) The life of the dead is considered as empty and unreal, and often gloomy and dark.
- (4) The underworld sometimes extends under the sea also.
- (5) There is some connexion with caves, and with cave-burial, which may have been more widespread formerly (cf. p. 37).

The belief that it is day in the other world when it is night here is often connected with an underground spirit-land (cf. pp. 39-40), but so far we have no information of such a notion in South Melanesia, although in the Banks Islands and Lepers Island the dead man's ornaments are put on the wrong way round, which may possibly denote a theory of contraries in the land of the dead, but may be only a magical precaution.

Similar beliefs extend in a modified form to Lifu and New Caledonia, but a gap occurs in the Southern New Hebrides, doubtless due to immigration from the east.

This underground belief is associated by Dr. Rivers with the

culture-complex of his 'Dual People', i. e. the 'earlier strata of the population of Melanesia' who practise sitting-burial, and endeavour to prevent the return of the ghost by tying up the corpse and by removing it as far as possible from the living, in contrast to the later immigrants who preserve the body (or at any rate the skull), and do not fear the dead.<sup>1</sup> In this connexion we find in this particular region that sitting-burial occurs in Pentecost (probably),<sup>2</sup> Efate,<sup>3</sup> Ambryn,<sup>4</sup> Lifu,<sup>5</sup> and New Caledonia<sup>6</sup> (probably the most ancient practice in Melanesia),<sup>7</sup> that the ghost is 'driven away' in Ureparapara<sup>8</sup> (Banks Islands), stones are heaped on the grave in Malecula<sup>9</sup> and Aurora<sup>10</sup> evidently to 'keep down the ghost', and in Lifu the corpse is bent or tied up with the definite intention of preventing the soul's return.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately our chief authority Codrington does not mention the posture of the corpse, so that our information is incomplete, and sitting-burial may be, or have been, much more general. (It is practised by commoners in the Solomon Islands and in Polynesia, where it also belongs to the earlier strata of the population.<sup>12</sup>)

Additional support for Dr. Rivers's theory appears in the traces of an underworld belief underlying later ideas in those parts of Melanesia which have been subject to later migration, such as the Solomon Islands. It will therefore be of interest to note the distribution of these characteristics in Melanesia, with special regard to the Sulka of New Britain (among whom Dr. Rivers finds the practices of the 'Dual People' in purer form than elsewhere, the 'kava-people' culture being absent<sup>13</sup>), and to the peoples inhabiting the regions adjacent to South Melanesia. In Eddystone Island, for instance, in the West Solomons, there are two contradictory beliefs about the fate of the soul. The dead man is supposed to cross the sea, and is fetched by the other ghosts who paddle him in a canoe to the island afterworld, but he also lives in a cave on the summit of his own island, which

<sup>1</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 273, 275-6, 278, 479.

<sup>2</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 265.

<sup>3</sup> Turner (176), 336.

<sup>4</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 273.

<sup>5</sup> Hadfield (57), 217; Ray (133), 288; Sarasin (143), 275.

<sup>6</sup> Sarasin (143), 82; Glaumont (46), 125.

<sup>7</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 273.

<sup>8</sup> Codrington (22), 270.

<sup>9</sup> Watt Leggatt (180), 700.

<sup>10</sup> Codrington (22), 281.

<sup>11</sup> Ray (133), 288; Sarasin (143), 275.

<sup>12</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 479; Hocart (200), 82.

<sup>13</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 540.



is said to lead down beneath the earth;<sup>1</sup> and although this incompatibility is explained away by the theory that the cave is only the temporary abode of souls between death and their final departure, the discrepancy is really due to the mixture of two distinct beliefs, a case of what Dr. Rivers calls religious syncretism.<sup>2</sup> Since, as we have seen above (cf. *supra*, pp. 40 and 35), a cave is often the entrance to an underground home of the dead, and as the ghost is sometimes said to go eventually to a volcano on Bougainville where it lives in a big cave, and life in the other world goes on at night, both characteristics of a spirit-land beneath the earth;<sup>3</sup> and since in the neighbouring islands of Mono, Alu, and Fauro there is a belief that the dead live underground and go into volcanic craters,<sup>4</sup> the latter belief occurring also in Vella-la-Vella, Choiseul,<sup>5</sup> Savo, and Santa Cruz;<sup>6</sup> it seems highly probable that the earlier belief in this region was that of a home of the dead underground, similar to that found in South Melanesia, and perhaps part of the same culture-complex. Throughout the Solomon Islands we find a difference in rites for chiefs and commoners, due to the presence of two cultures, and one general afterworld on some neighbouring island, often in a volcano, with traces of the underworld belief which has been absorbed or superseded by the island theory. The Sulka again have an underground afterworld, the souls of the dead being greatly feared at night,<sup>7</sup> unlike the present beliefs of their neighbours in the Gazelle Peninsula.

In the Loyalty Islands and New Caledonia the South Melanesian type is found in a modified form: in the former the underworld has become a cave (perhaps originally the entrance) in a partially submerged reef, and in New Caledonia earlier beliefs and rites have been overlaid by an immigration of chiefs from Polynesia. In the Massim District of British New Guinea, which has been largely Melanesianized, we find a confusion of beliefs, some of them—notably the island afterworld—due to migration (cf. p. 13); from this emerges a set of beliefs which combines the

<sup>1</sup> Hocart (200), 88, 93, 101. The word for the soul's departure '*Londu*' means 'to sink, or set'.

<sup>2</sup> Rivers (138), 395-6, 402-3.

<sup>3</sup> Thurnwald (171), i. 321; Hocart (67), 160; (200), 95.

<sup>4</sup> Wheeler (181), 91, 110.

<sup>5</sup> Thurnwald (171), i. 320-1.

<sup>6</sup> Codrington (22), 264.

<sup>7</sup> Parkinson (123), 187.

South Melanesian home of the dead underground with the Papuan underworld. To the latter belong the origin-legend and the absence of gloom (cf. p. 51). (For details cf. Appendix I.)

## § 2. *Polynesia.*

In Polynesia we find traces of an underworld of this South Melanesian type in connexion with commoners, who represent the earlier population, and who inter in the sitting position in contrast to preservation in the extended posture which is customary among the chiefs and priests. The latter go either to *Po* (across or under the sea), or to a special heaven of their own, while commoners go to an inferior place underground, if they survive at all.

The details of this underworld have been most fully described in Samoa. Here it is known as *Sā-le-Fe'e* or *Nonoa*, 'the land of the bound' (*Nonoa* is a reduplication or plural-form of the adjective *noa*, meaning 'of no account'), the much-dreaded abode of commoners after death in the regions below: the entrance is through a circular hole on the west of Savaii, the most westerly island of the group, and is reached by a definite route including 'leaping-stones' at the west ends of Upolu and Manono. In *Nonoa* all spirits were dumb.<sup>1</sup> In Futuna (Horne Island) the abode of common people, *Fale-mate*, is very similar, and from it souls passed into successive realms where they became dumb, deaf, and blind; each family was said to have its own, either in the hollow of a tree, a rock,<sup>2</sup> &c., but perhaps these were really the entrances. Similarly in Hawaii the souls who could not enter the ancestral home at *Wakea* (probably those of commoners, although this not stated) go down to an abode of misery far below, reached from a leaping-off place on the coast;<sup>3</sup> while in the Union Islands commoners went to a region far away, inferior to the moon (the spirit-land of kings and priests), but still a place of dancing and feasting.<sup>4</sup> In Tonga the underworld has been lost, and souls of commoners do not survive.<sup>5</sup>

In Tahiti and the South-East Society Islands, however, the underworld has become absorbed in *Po*, and a better place is found for chiefs, although the missionary Williams (writing in

<sup>1</sup> Stair (161), 217-19; Brown (15), 220-1; Turner (176), 257-9.

<sup>2</sup> Percy Smith (155), 39-40.

<sup>3</sup> Bryan (16), 50.

<sup>4</sup> Lister (96), 51.

<sup>5</sup> Mariner (107), ii. 105, 137.

1837) mentions a 'Hell' called *Roohutu namu-namua*, or foul-scented *Roohutu*.<sup>1</sup> The Hawaiian nether world seems also to have become confused with *Po*, but accounts are not at all clear on this subject: it seems, at any rate, that *Wakea* or *Akea* is connected with former kings of Hawaii, and that the souls of chiefs were conducted by a god to some place in the heavens through the good offices of the priests, while dreams and visions were the sole source of information regarding the final destination of the dead.<sup>2</sup>

Thus Polynesia falls into two irregular groups:

- (a) The underworld becomes a bad place for commoners, while chiefs go to *Po* or its equivalent, across or under the sea. (Samoa, Futuna, Niue, Union Group, Manga-rewa, and perhaps Tonga).<sup>3</sup>
- (b) The underworld is absorbed in *Po* as a general afterworld, though chiefs generally go to a better place by the help of the priests. (Tahiti, S.E. Society I., Hawaii, Marquesas, Rarotonga, Mangaia).<sup>4</sup>

In both groups we find a sharp division of burial rites: namely for commoners' interment, or exposure with final cave-burial (probably the earlier form) in the sitting-posture, and for chiefs partial embalming and interment (in extended position) in stone vaults in the *marae*, or sometimes in caves. In Group (a) the afterworlds are still distinct, a bad meaning being now associated with that of the commoners: in Group (b) the fusion is more or less complete, and chiefs are raised to a heaven by priestly intervention (cf. details in Appendix I).

Traces of the idea that *Sā-le-Fe'e* or *Nonoa*, the Samoan underworld for commoners, had formerly a racial significance appear in the following account given by Stair. 'It is interesting to notice how much this name *O le Fe'e* is mixed up with Samoan mythology, whether as the name of a renowned war-god and deity, or

<sup>1</sup> Ellis (33), i. 245-6, 396-7; id. (32), 342; J. Williams (185), 145.

<sup>2</sup> Jarves (63), 38-40; Ellis (32), 340-1.

<sup>3</sup> Stair (161), 178-80, 217-19; Turner (176), 16, 257-9, 306; G. Brown (15), 221, 405; Meinicke (112), ii. 81-3, 98, 118-19, 130, 224; Percy Smith (155), 39-40; id. (156), 197, 206-7; B. H. Thomson (168), 51, 94; Mariner (107), ii. 105, 108-10, 137; Cook (23), i. 313; ii. 53; Lister (96), 51, 54.

<sup>4</sup> Ellis (33), i. 244-6, 397, 399; id. (32), 340-2; Meinicke (112), ii. 147, 179, 183, 253, 300-1; Bryan (16), 50, 53, 543; Jarves (73), 38-40, 73-4; Rivers (139), ii. 263, 281; Bässler (5), 225-6; Melville (111), 216; Langsdorff, (90), 154; Gill (45), 71-2, 75-6; Percy Smith (157), 172.

as *Sā-le-Fe'e*, the much-dreaded regions below ; as also with a mysterious building of the distant past known as *O le fale-o-le-Fe'e*, the house of the *Fe'e*, the ruins of which still remain as mute witnesses of a bygone worship of which the Samoans have now no knowledge or record whatever, save the name. All these facts point to it as a name of deep significance and meaning in the history of the past, whether in connexion with the history of the ancestors of the present race of Samoans or, as many think, with the records of an earlier, but long since extinct, race.' <sup>1</sup>

It therefore appears that the earlier inhabitants of Polynesia, now represented by the commoners who practise sitting-burial, had originally an underground afterworld resembling the South Melanesian one, entered through holes from a leaping-off place and connected with volcanoes, which in some places has now fused with the *Po* of the chiefly immigrants, and in others survives in the commoners' underworld.

### § 3. *New Zealand*

In New Zealand there appears to be a fusion of two separate beliefs about the afterworld.

1. *Reinga* or *Reigna*, under the earth.

2. *Po*, under or across the sea, often confused with *Hawaiki*, the home of the race westward beyond the sea, to which the dead man is also supposed to return.

This fusion is shown by the marked difference between Maori ideas about the afterworld, and those which prevail in other parts of Polynesia, where the chief abode of the dead is *Po*, *Pulotu*, or its equivalent ; though as chiefs and commoners cannot go to the same place, there is generally another afterworld of a vaguer nature, which is either a less desirable abode for commoners underground, or a better region for chiefs (cf. pp. 80, 45, and 46). But in New Zealand there are two different accounts. *Reinga* is an underground place, surrounded by hills with a lake in the centre, where rank is respected, and which is divided into stages : <sup>2</sup> it is a good place, according to a Ngati-Awa native, 'and not shrouded in darkness, but light like unto this world' <sup>3</sup> (though Tregear says the Maori have 'no idea of a happy heaven,

<sup>1</sup> Stair (161), 218.

<sup>2</sup> Wohlers (190), 111-12.

<sup>3</sup> Elsdon Best (9), 231.



so leave life unwillingly '1). On the other hand *Po* is under the sea, a place of darkness which increases as the soul descends, and is the fate of all except chiefs and priests who ascend to Heaven.<sup>2</sup> The belief in 'heaven', however, is alleged to be modern, and due to missionary influence;<sup>3</sup> but it may be a reminiscence of the Polynesian idea that chiefs go to some abode of the gods in the skies (cf. p. 81).

In contrast to Wohlers and White, who each describe a different idea, the accounts given by Shortland, Taylor, and Tregear seem to represent a fusion of the two beliefs. Shortland speaks of a place beneath the earth, *Reigna*, reached by a precipice or chasm close to the sea-shore near the North Cape, with a river at the foot, across which the spirit is paddled by a ferryman,<sup>4</sup> and Taylor says that *Reinga* is the leaping-place at the North Cape (*Reinga* means leaping-place), from which spirits slung themselves into the water on their way to *Po*, but before entering *Reinga* the soul must cross a river by a plank placed for him by the keeper, at which it might be turned away and sent back to life.<sup>5</sup> According to Tregear, the soul goes to the north-west part of the island, *Te Reinga*, 'the spirit's leap,' where it jumps into the sea or slides down a tree-trunk to *Po*, where are several divisions, in each of which it loses some of its vitality. He also mentions a river, and a ferryman who turns back those not really dead.<sup>6</sup> That we have here two separate beliefs seems evident. Wohlers says that *Reinga* is not identical with *Po*; 'the latter seems to have been a more ancient idea, and the abode of superior gods and very great chiefs.'<sup>7</sup> Elsdon Best remarks that there is possibly some distinction between *Po* and *Reinga*, perhaps two spirit-worlds, or two divisions of the underworld.<sup>8</sup> (Wohlers and White both deal with the South; Taylor, Shortland, &c., chiefly with the North island, so it would appear that the fusion is less complete in the south.)

The Maori description of *Reinga* bears a strong resemblance to the South Melanesian underworld described above (p. 42) in that it is (a) under the earth, (b) on the whole gloomy though not

<sup>1</sup> Tregear (174), 118.

<sup>2</sup> White (183), 361-2; Goldie (47), 25; Elsdon Best (9), 233.

<sup>3</sup> Elsdon Best (9), 231; id. (12), 175.

<sup>4</sup> Shortland (149), 150-2.

<sup>5</sup> Taylor (166), 231-2.

<sup>6</sup> Tregear (174), 118-19.

<sup>7</sup> Wohlers (190), 111.

<sup>8</sup> Elsdon Best (9), 236.

a place of punishment, (*c*) reached by a leaping-off place characteristic of all the South Melanesian islands, (*d*) has a guardian or ordeal. The guardian or guide to Hades is a mixture of Polynesian and Melanesian features, and varies with the different accounts: he places a plank across a stream at the entrance to *Reinga* (not *Po*), sending back those not dead (cf. Melanesian guardian in *Ysabel*), or as the god *Tiki*, the creator of men (Polynesian), sits at the threshold of his long reed house in *Te Po*, forbidding those to enter whose friends have not performed the necessary ceremonies,<sup>1</sup> or, as two great spirits, *Tuapiko* and *Tawhaitiri* forms an ordeal for the soul in the successive stages in *Reinga*,<sup>2</sup> or paddles the spirit across a river to the underground *Reigna* as a ferryman,<sup>3</sup> or in *Po* as the ferrywoman *Rohe*.<sup>4</sup> The ferryman and boat are entirely Polynesian (e. g. Samoa, Fiji, &c.), the only Melanesian instances of a canoe to fetch the dead being in Saa, Florida, and Eddystone Island where racial admixture has occurred (cf. p. 9), and among the Kai of ex-German New Guinea. Similarly the ordeal and guardian is Melanesian (cf. pp. 110, 112), as for example the pool crossed by a log in *Ysabel*, a pig to be passed in *Aurora* and *Lepers Island*, a shark in *Pentecost*, and a spirit-guardian in *Malecula* and *Efate*.

As regards burial-customs, the usual method is exposure (in the north—*Ngapuhi*) or preliminary burial (sometimes in the house in sitting-posture), followed by exhumation, cleaning of the bones at the *hahunga* ceremony, and final disposal in the tribal (secret) cave.<sup>5</sup> The sitting-posture seems to be common in all forms of burial, except that *White* (writing of *South Island*) tells us that chiefs were laid in extended posture with feet towards the north, and only commoners sitting.<sup>6</sup> The difference between the funeral rites of chiefs and commoners is everywhere marked. *Crozet* says that ordinary people were thrown into the sea and warriors buried,<sup>7</sup> and *Taylor* that a chief's burial was very important, while slaves were buried or not according to circumstances;<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Goldie* (47), 25-6.

<sup>2</sup> This idea of stages is foreign to Polynesia, but the South Melanesian underworld *Panoi* (cf. p. 77) is sometimes said to have a lower, definitely bad, division.

<sup>3</sup> *Shortland* (149), 150-2.

<sup>4</sup> *White* (183), 364.

<sup>5</sup> *Taylor* (166), 217-19; *Shortland* (150), 153.

<sup>6</sup> *White* (183), 362-4.

<sup>7</sup> *Crozet* (27), 65.

<sup>8</sup> *Taylor* (166), 217.

but this is only natural considering the exalted position of the Maori chief. Though the belief that chiefs go up to heaven may be modern, the notion that they go to a different place from commoners, combined with a difference in funeral-rites (especially extended as opposed to sitting-posture), may be a survival of two separate afterworlds, one underground and one across the sea.

The term *Hawaiki* to denote the spirit-land is probably a sentimental growth of later times, now applied indifferently to the ancestral home in the west or to the underworld,<sup>1</sup> and corresponds to the *Avaiki*, *Akea*, &c., of other parts of Polynesia (cf. pp. 82-3).

Other burial-forms also occur. Swamp or sand-burial is practised in the Matatua District<sup>2</sup> (south of Bay of Plenty), tree-burial in the Tuhoe-tribe<sup>3</sup> and on the Opotiki River,<sup>4</sup> and cremation among the Ngati-opa of the Waimate Plains,<sup>5</sup> but these are isolated practices and are probably due to topographical conditions as the best way of securing a secret burial-place and protecting the remains from enemies (cf. pp. 159-60, 161). Artificial desiccation used to be practised in the Waitara (south-west) 'in order that the people might gaze and weep over the dead for a long time';<sup>6</sup> this may also be due to local circumstances, or may be a survival of a custom which is widespread for chiefs in Polynesia. Hare-Hongi says, moreover, that 'the practice of mummification (i. e. artificial desiccation) was peculiarly common to old-time Maori', and gives two verbatim accounts of eye-witnesses.<sup>7</sup> This method of artificial preservation is similar to the methods adopted by closely allied Polynesians in Mangaia (Cook Group), in conjunction with cave-burial much resembling the Maori practices<sup>8</sup> (cf. pp. 164-5), and may also be compared with the embalming of chiefs' corpses in Hawaii, the Marquesas, Tahiti, Samoa, &c. (cf. p. 10). Mummification of the skull was also common formerly in New Zealand.<sup>9</sup> Interment in sacred enclosures seems to be a comparatively modern substitute for the final disposal of the bones in sacred caves which was the old custom.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Elsdon Best (9), 161, 172, 233.

<sup>2</sup> Elsdon Best (9), 189, 191.

<sup>3</sup> Elsdon Best (10), 110-12.

<sup>7</sup> Hare-Hongi (62), 171.

<sup>9</sup> Taylor (166), 324-5.

<sup>2</sup> Elsdon Best (9), 193.

<sup>4</sup> Mair (104), 38.

<sup>5</sup> Hare-Hongi (62), 169-71.

<sup>8</sup> Gill (45), 76; Percy Smith (157), 172.

<sup>10</sup> Cowan (24), 348-9.

In view of the traces of Melanesian culture, and perhaps racial admixture, among the Maori, this apparent fusion of Polynesian and Melanesian afterworlds in *Po-Reinga*, combined with the frequent use of the sitting-posture in burial-rites which is associated with the Melanesian 'Dual People', may well be another link in the chain of evidence of Melanesian characteristics in New Zealand. We may therefore assume that there were once two distinct theories of the afterworld in New Zealand, belonging to different races with different burial-rites, which have now become inextricably mingled. In this connexion it may be noted that the Moriori of the Chatham Islands (who have been supposed to be akin to the Melanesian element among the Maori) tied up their corpses in the sitting-posture, and generally interred them partially in a shallow grave, although they sometimes practised tree-burial or sending-adrift (also in sitting-posture).<sup>1</sup> Dendy also says that some of the Moriori used to bury their dead in the sand by the sea-shore in the sitting-posture, and that when the Maori came they at first chose similar situations for their cemeteries, but always buried in the horizontal position.<sup>2</sup>

#### § 4. *Papua.*

The Papuan type of underworld differs from the South Melanesian one in that it is not gloomy or unreal, and has no connexion with volcanoes; on the other hand the entrance is generally supposed to be through a cave, probably associated with cave-burial. The doctrine of opposites occurs more frequently, and there is often a definite connexion with the setting sun (and hence with the west), which is supposed to go to the underworld at night, perhaps taking the ghosts with it (cf. pp. 40, 83-4). The origin-legend found in British New Guinea of men having come up from beneath the earth through caves or holes in the ground probably belongs to the same set of ideas. Thus among the Kai, Jabim, Bukaua, Tami, &c., of Huon Gulf in ex-German New Guinea, the land of the dead is underground, and among the Tami is definitely a better place than this world, but the ghosts also appear in the woods at night. The Kai dead assemble in a cave before their departure, slight earthquake shocks being these ghosts leaping down, and the Tami entrance

<sup>1</sup> Travers (172), 23-4.

<sup>2</sup> Dendy (29), 126.



is through a rock-cleft. According to a Kai legend of the Orpheus and Eurydice type, the underworld is entered through a cave on a western spur of the Sattelberg Mountains. Among the Tami and Bukaua the underworld (*Lamboam*) lies in the east: this may be due to Melanesian immigration, as the Tami have received a recent cultural drift from New Britain, and the Bukaua are coast-people, not aborigines. Otherwise the entrance depends upon topographical conditions, which is probably the original belief. Both the Mountain Kai and the Sialum have cave-burial. There is also a belief among the Bukaua that the sun and moon go under the earth during the night.<sup>1</sup>

It seems probable that the traces of this belief which we find on the south coast of British New Guinea, notably among the Kiwai of the Fly Estuary, the Torres Straits Islanders (who belong to the same people as the Kiwai), and the Bulua of Hood Point, belong to the Papuan culture of the interior which has come down the rivers to the coast, especially down the Fly River.<sup>2</sup> Thus the Bulaa and adjacent tribes have an underground afterworld, from which the first men came up through a cave; <sup>3</sup> the spirit-land of the Torres Straits Islanders is under the island of Boigu, where the sun goes at night; <sup>4</sup> and the Kiwai *Adiri* lies in the west where the sun and moon go down and is connected with a 'First Man' (that it is now an island is probably due to migration), and the souls also go to an underworld <sup>5</sup> (cf. pp. 12-13). The Torres Straits afterworld is bright and happy,<sup>6</sup> and that of the Bulua has 'splendid gardens',<sup>7</sup> unlike the gloomy unreality of the South Melanesian spirit-land. The connexion of the dead with the sun or the west which is prominent in the eschatology of the Kiwai and the Torres Straits Islands appears sporadically all along the south coast of British New Guinea. Among the Motu-Motu (Toaripi) of Freshwater Bay (who have come down from the Upper Purari and the Albert Edward Range) the ghost departs to the west, the canoe contain-

<sup>1</sup> Zahn (195), iii. 324; Keysser (77), iii. 149, 151, 213; Bammler (4), iii. 514-15, 518; Neuhauss (119), i. 170; Lehner (93), iii. 430-1, 475; Haddon (54), 118.

<sup>2</sup> Haddon (55), 244.

<sup>3</sup> Guise (50), 206, 216.

<sup>4</sup> Haddon (56), 252.

<sup>5</sup> Landtmann (88), 71, 73; id. (89), 306; Chalmers (19), 119; Beaver (7), 176.

<sup>6</sup> Hunt (72), 8.

<sup>7</sup> Guise (50), 216.

ing his food being left by the grave until sunset ;<sup>1</sup> the Roro (east of Cape Possession) orientate the corpse towards the rising sun ;<sup>2</sup> and according to the Bulaa, Bababa, Kamali, and Kalo of Hood Point, the ghost is fetched at sunset to the underworld by other ghosts.<sup>3</sup> The special features of the Massim underworld, especially the origin myth and the idea of a happy spirit-land, are probably due to the Papuan element among these peoples, which has been superseded by Melanesian immigration.<sup>4</sup>

This Papuan underworld resembles that found sporadically in Indonesia (which may have been more widespread formerly), of which the main characteristics are a cave-entrance, cave-burial, the idea of opposites, and a connexion with the sun. The latter notion is more developed than in New Guinea, perhaps owing to the prevalence of the 'soul-substance theory' according to which men's souls may be carried off by the setting sun (cf. pp. 61, 84). That it is sometimes considered as an unpleasant place for the 'bad', as among the Toba-Battak, in Nias, &c., is probably due to the intrusion of another afterworld which has become the 'better land' of the ruling classes, while the underworld is relegated to the position of an inferior place for the less desirable.

There are two main types of underworld in the area under consideration, which we may conveniently call the South Melanesian and the Papuan.

1. *South Melanesian Underworld.* The main characteristics are that it is a gloomy unreal abode, definitely associated with volcanoes, and generally reached through holes and volcanic vents. There is also a leaping-off place where the ghosts assemble, and apparently some connexion with caves and cave-burial, which has emphasized—if it has not actually suggested—the belief in an underground home of the dead. These features are generally found in association with the squatting-posture, tying up the corpse, and fear of the dead, which form part of the culture of Dr. Rivers's 'Dual People' of South Melanesia.

This type occurs in *Polynesia with regard to commoners*, whose rites resemble the Melanesian pattern, and whom Dr. Rivers connects with the 'Dual People' culture, and also in belief and

<sup>1</sup> Chalmers (18), 330 ; Haddon (55), 245.

<sup>2</sup> Guise (50), 210.

<sup>3</sup> Seligman (146), 274.

<sup>4</sup> Haddon (55), 251, 256.

ritual in *New Zealand*, where it has more or less completely fused with various Polynesian characteristics. In the *Southern New Hebrides*, the *Loyalty Islands*, and *New Caledonia*, it has been modified by immigration from the east, and in New Britain it appears among the *Sulka* (who also have the 'Dual Culture' characteristics), with traces surviving among the neighbouring peoples. Again it forms a substratum of belief in the *Solomon Islands*, where volcanoes are specially prominent in the eschatology of the western islands, although the leaping-off place has almost completely disappeared before the island-afterworld, soul-boat belief, &c., of the later immigrant culture: here, as in Polynesia, there are different rites for chiefs and commoners, the latter having sitting-burial, &c., a survival no doubt of the culture of the earlier inhabitants, of which an underworld seems to have been a part (cf. pp. 7-8). In the *Massim District* of British New Guinea, into which Melanesian culture has spread with immigration, we find a mixture of the South Melanesian and Papuan types. The leaping-off place of the former has been modified into an undersea route, and the gloomy aspect and the association with volcanoes have disappeared, while the hole-entrance, cave, and cave-burial (the two last are also features of the Papuan type) remain, in addition to the Papuan origin-legend.

2. *Papuan Underworld*. The 'Papuan' underworld is more directly connected with a cave-entrance and cave-burial, is not a gloomy place, although generally the opposite to this world, and is associated with legends of origin. There is also a connexion with the sun or the west, and the soul goes down to the spirit-land at sunset.

This is very similar to the underworld which occurs sporadically in Indonesia, though the latter has sometimes acquired a bad sense from the introduction of later beliefs belonging to higher cultures. It is chiefly associated with cave-burial, which may have originally suggested a home of the dead beneath the earth, and is almost certainly responsible for the entrance through a cave, and for the origin-myth. Orientation to the west or towards the sun, connected with the departure of the ghost at sunset, is frequent in ritual, and is probably a later modification or interpretation to fit in with such beliefs.

## VII

### AFTERWORLD ON EARTH

AN afterworld on earth (i. e. not across the sea, underground, or in the sky) is found chiefly in Indonesia, especially in the larger islands of the Malay Archipelago. For purposes of classification it may be considered under three main heads :

- (1) Where the abode of the dead is in trees, streams, stones, &c., or vaguely ' somewhere near '.
- (2) Where the dead remain near the grave, in the house, or in special images, including the ' grave-ghost ' and the ' house-ghost '.
- (3) Where the dead depart to more distant regions.

#### § 1. *Abode of the Dead in Trees, &c., or vaguely somewhere near.*

The vague notion that the dead are present in trees, rocks, streams, and so forth, is not common as the sole belief of a people, though it often occurs in a hazy supplementary fashion where the locality of the true spirit-land is quite clearly defined, as though it were a survival of earlier animistic ideas. It seems to be a primitive belief, found chiefly among backward and nomadic peoples, who do not concern themselves overmuch with questions about immortality. Thus in New Britain the Baining dead are everywhere present, but invisible, with no fixed abode,<sup>1</sup> and the Zambales Negritoes of Luzon feel their constant presence near their former dwelling.<sup>2</sup> Both these peoples are specially primitive, and are probably representatives of the aborigines of their respective islands. Their burial-rites are of the simplest. Among the Baining the body is interred, the grave sometimes not even filled in, with no protection against wild animals ; there is little or no ceremony, nor is there any fear of spirits or witchcraft connected with them.<sup>3</sup> The Zambales Negritoes have no ceremony, but inter the body in a hollowed-out tree at some high spot and build a rude fence to protect it, though there is no regular burial-place ; the spirits of the dead are feared, but there is no

<sup>1</sup> Parkinson (123), 159.

<sup>2</sup> Reed (134), 65.

<sup>3</sup> Parkinson (123), 159.



propitiation except feeding them.<sup>1</sup> Among the Alferu of Ceram (the most backward of the inhabitants) the soul goes into holy stones, or, among the Mountain Alferu, into woods and rocks.<sup>2</sup> This is also believed by the priestesses of the Minangkabau of Sumatra, who seem to have kept up the old primitive idea, although the people are now Mohammedans.<sup>3</sup> Some of the Hill-Dyaks of Borneo, again, say that the souls of the dead go to woods or mountain-tops, or 'they know not where', and although Hindu influence has introduced cremation among the better classes, and poorer people expose their dead on covered stages in Malay fashion, the lowest (and presumably the most primitive) classes merely leave the bodies in the jungle.<sup>4</sup> The Mafulu pygmies of the interior of British New Guinea have similar vague beliefs (cf. p. 150).

On the other hand, among many Indonesian peoples, the statement that the 'soul' goes into trees or plants must be accepted with caution, as very often it is the so-called 'soul-substance' which is meant (cf. p. 61), and not the true soul which has gone elsewhere, and this is probably the explanation of many of the conflicting accounts of beliefs with regard to the afterlife.

Thus there seems to be a certain amount of evidence that this vague negative type of afterworld is characteristic of the most primitive peoples, who have for the most part very simple burial rites. This is certainly what we should expect to find among very undeveloped hunting tribes, as their strenuous life leaves little time for theories about the future life; their religion is generally of the animistic type, and as they have no fixed abodes, there are no special burial-grounds, and no opportunities for lengthy funeral ceremonies, the chief object being to dispose of the dead body as quickly as possible. Memories are short among such peoples, and though at first the dead man is missed, and perhaps appears in dreams to the survivors, giving rise to the idea that he is 'somewhere near', he is very soon forgotten. We have not much evidence for this type of belief, probably because the wilder tribes are so much more inaccessible, and are particularly reticent on this subject, while the vagueness

<sup>1</sup> Reed (134), 61, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 375.

<sup>3</sup> Bastian (6), i. 142, 148-50, 154.

<sup>4</sup> Low (100), 263; Ling Roth (95), i. 136-7.

of the ideas involved only increases the difficulties of the investigator.<sup>1</sup>

A vague afterworld of rather a different type is that found in Micronesia, connected with ancestor-worship, especially in the Marshall Islands, Gilbert Islands, Kuschai (Carolines), Mortlock and Ruk (South Carolines). In the Marshall Islands there is no belief in a definite afterworld, but ghosts (*anitsch*) have a spirit-life connected with this life. Special places are considered as their abodes, such as certain stones, trees, and even fish, but there is no sacredness attached to them. These *anitsch* are consulted by the sorcerers (*Drikanen*), and a certain spot in the house is set apart for them, at which offerings are made. Sea-burial is customary for commoners, and chiefs are interred in graves in hidden places under coco-palms which are connected with the fear of ghosts, the funeral ceremonies being conducted by the *Drikanen*. The position of the chiefs' graves seems to be the only connexion between rites and the supposed abodes of ghosts, which are associated rather with religion and ancestor-worship.<sup>2</sup> It seems probable, however, that the latter has arisen from the former practice of preserving the bones of the dead for purposes of divination. In the Gilbert Islands and in Kuschai, where similar beliefs prevail, the bones are exhumed and cleaned, and in the former preserved for sacred purposes, skulls being adorned and offered food, while the word for 'Sorcerer', *Drikanen*, means one who takes omens from human bones (*dri*=bones, man; *kanen*=foretell<sup>3</sup>). In Mortlock and Ruk ancestor-worship is still further developed, and wooden figures of ancestor-spirits are kept in the club-house and receive offerings;<sup>4</sup> the latter perhaps represent the former preservation of the actual skull and bones of the dead, as among the Papuans of Dutch New Guinea and elsewhere (cf. pp. 66, 151-2).

## § 2. *Abode of the Dead near the grave, or in a house or image.*

When the dead man remains near the grave, in the house, or in some special spirit-house, this is generally only a temporary

<sup>1</sup> In this connexion see comparison of Pygmy beliefs in Appendix III.

<sup>2</sup> Finsch (39), iii. 138-40; Meinicke (112), ii. 338-9.

<sup>3</sup> Finsch (39), iii. 45-7, 139, 200; Turner (176), 300; Meinicke (112), ii. 338-9; Grimble (198), 46-7.

<sup>4</sup> Finsch (39), iii. 319-22.

sojourn while he is waiting for the death-feast, exhumation, or other final rites after which he will set off to the land of the dead (cf. p. 92). For the moment we are only concerned with his more permanent presence in these places, either as second soul, grave-ghost, or house-ghost. This belief is largely of a subjective nature (i. e. it is more concerned with the experiences of the survivors in relation to the dead than with the experience imputed to the dead themselves), as it is intimately associated with the fear of haunting felt by the survivors, or the tabu attached to death and to everything connected with it, and is nearly always supplementary to that of a definite land of the dead elsewhere. The grave-ghost may be the soul returning from the spirit-land from time to time, or a secondary soul remaining behind near the grave (both being ways of explaining how the ghost can be in the afterworld and also at the grave at the same time), or else a specially-feared ghost such as that of a murdered man. The house-ghost is usually the soul of a relative which has been persuaded, generally by means of elaborate ritual, to take up its abode in some special image or hut, where it can protect the living, receive their attentions, or be used for divination and other magical purposes ; at the same time it is restrained from any of the unpleasant activities in which departed spirits are wont to indulge if permitted to remain at large.

(a) *The Grave-ghost.* The very general fear of burial-places and of the ghosts assembled there, even though the soul is supposed to have departed to a distant region, presents no contradiction to the primitive mind of primitive man, and is the natural outcome of his reluctance to approach these spots, associated as they are with the tabu state of death, and all the mysterious rites and conflicting emotions connected with it. But sometimes he explains that the dead, especially those who have died lately, return at times to their graves, and are seen there by passers-by. As regards the South-east Malay Archipelago, for instance, in Watubela the dead return from Mount Teri to haunt their graves,<sup>1</sup> and in the Luang-Sermata Group to fetch various goods placed on the grave by the living ;<sup>2</sup> in Ambon they remain there as long as the grave is kept in repair.<sup>3</sup> In New Zealand, where the

<sup>1</sup> Riedel (136), 211-12.

<sup>2</sup> Riedel (136), 316.

<sup>3</sup> Riedel (136), 56.

tabu idea is so remarkably developed, a special spell (*karakia*) is performed to bring and keep the dead man in the sacred burial-ground (*wahi tapu*).<sup>1</sup>

With some peoples this becomes a *second soul*, or at any rate is often described as such by observers (cf. p. 63). Thus the Kayan-Bahau's other soul, the *Ton Luwa*, stays by the grave, and presently becomes a bad spirit.<sup>2</sup> Among the inhabitants of Nias a 'part of the soul' (*aloloa dōdō*), twenty or thirty days after death, transforms itself into a small animal, and remains near the corpse until it is removed ceremonially in the *mòco-mòco* ceremony<sup>3</sup> (cf. p. 64). Is this an instance of the primitive notion of 'soul-substance', on the way to developing into a true 'second soul', with the widespread belief in the temporary sojourn of the real soul near the grave as a contributory factor? According to Sundermann the true soul (*bechu zi mâte*) is bound to earth for a time before it departs to the underworld, which is perhaps the earlier conception. The grave-demon (*hantu kubur*<sup>4</sup>) of the Sakai-Blandas, which remains near the grave and is fed for seven days, after which it dies outright,<sup>5</sup> belongs to this category.

It is, however, above all the *soul of the man who has died an unnatural death*, which lingers by the grave and becomes the true grave-ghost. Not only is he more feared than any other because of his supposed desire for revenge, but among almost all peoples he is shut out from the spirit-land, and has been denied all the usual burial-rites, or has had his own special ones (cf. p. 286, &c.). Among the Sakai-Blandas the grave-demon (*hantu kubur*) remains near the grave eating the food placed on it, but dies after seven days; but there is also the ghost-demon (*hantu dēgup*) which watches the grave, and those belonging to evil-doers are much feared and have power for evil. Hence the place where a wicked man dies is always deserted immediately.<sup>6</sup> The Patani (Malayo-Siamese of the Malay Peninsula) *badi*, too, embodies the same idea. Though the word is said to be of Hindu origin, the idea is probably primitive, and is used to

<sup>1</sup> Taylor (166), 221; Goldie (47), 24-5.

<sup>2</sup> Nieuwenhuis (122), i. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Modigliani (113), 293; Kruijt (83), 326; de Zwaan (196), 260.

<sup>4</sup> de Zwaan (196), 261, quoting Sundermann.

<sup>5</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 245.

<sup>6</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 243-5.



denote the evil thing in man or beast that remains by the body after death, devouring the *semangat* (soul-substance) of those who approach.<sup>1</sup> The Bina of the Papuan Gulf describe a specially feared kind of grave-ghost called *Utumo* which issues from the corpse of a decapitated enemy. It takes the form of a headless trunk, from the neck of which two horn-shaped beams of light are thrown off, and as it has no head or legs, it cannot leave the body, but remains near until the flesh has disappeared.<sup>2</sup> There are many usages connected with grave-ghosts, such as providing them with fire, food, or huts, but on closer examination these are generally found to be merely provisions for the temporary stay of the soul, which are discontinued after its final departure (cf. p. 197). However, among many of the Jakun mixed tribes of the Malay Peninsula (especially the 'Senoi' of Martin and the Besisi) a 'soul-house' is constructed for the use of the grave-demon (*hantu kubur*), ranging from a simple palm-leaf stuck in the earth shading the grave, to a miniature hut, often with a ladder for the ghost to ascend by, with food, &c., placed by it. The soul-house is characteristic of primitive Malay culture, and the Jakun make specially fine ones. The Besisi used to plant rice and yams on the grave to feed this grave-ghost,<sup>3</sup> and at the tomb of a Jakun chief at Kumbang, Hervey was shown a small ditch round the grave, 'wherein the spirit may paddle his canoe,' with a framework forming a sort of enclosure in which were various articles for the use of the deceased.<sup>4</sup> (These must be distinguished from articles put in or on the grave, and intended for the soul's journey to the Island of Fruits or for his life there, although it is often difficult to find out for which purpose they are intended.) As this grave-demon dies after seven days, when the food-offerings cease, he is obviously a development of the theory of the temporary sojourn of the true soul which departs after a short time (found among the Besisi, according to Martin),<sup>5</sup> so that it is not surprising if there is some confusion between the two, the whole being further complicated by the ghost-demon (*hantu dĕgup*), a more permanent ghost with definite evil powers.

<sup>1</sup> Annandale and Robinson (3), part i, 100-1.

<sup>2</sup> Martin (109), 927 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Martin (109), 950.

<sup>4</sup> Lyons (199), 435.

<sup>5</sup> Hervey (64), 97-8.

These various kinds of grave-ghost seem to have a strong psychological basis. It is much more pleasant for every one concerned that the ghost should be safely in some well-defined afterworld, and his arrival there has been assured by magic and ritual as far as possible; but nevertheless his former companions miss him, and at times almost feel him with them still, sharing with them in his old occupations, while he has a way of appearing in dreams, or as an apparition near the grave. Therefore all burial-places are carefully avoided, and sometimes special meals are prepared for him at intervals, so that he may have no excuse for harming the living. Thus the Kayan-Bahau threw food to the *Ton Luwa* when passing a burial-ground,<sup>1</sup> and the Sea-Dyaks have a Festival of Departed Spirits (*Garwee antu*) held at irregular intervals, when a tiny boat of bamboo is ritually 'sent to Hades' (i. e. thrown away behind the house) by the wailer to fetch the dead, whose continued existence depends on this periodic feeding.<sup>2</sup> This ensures their arrival at the proper time and in the proper way, and is a safeguard against promiscuous haunting.

(b) '*Soul-substance*' and *second soul*. All over Indonesia we find the idea of what Kruijt has named 'soul-substance' (Seelstoff), which may be defined as the spiritual substance which pervades man during his life on earth, and which remains near the corpse for a while after death; it cannot, however, last for long apart from it, and soon passes into animals or plants.<sup>3</sup> It is thus quite distinct from the true soul, which goes to the afterworld. It is this soul-substance which is usually the nucleus of the grave-ghost or second soul. At death the personal soul-substance (i. e. *semangat* of the Malays, *bruwa*, &c., of the Dyaks, *tenda* of the Battak, &c.) occasionally passes into the true soul (i. e. *nitu*, *anitu* of the Moluccas, *begu* of the Battak, *angu* in Celebes, *liau*, *luwa* of the Dyaks), which lives on after death and goes to the afterworld, as among the Timorese, Toradja, Papuans, and others. But generally it passes to some god, who doles it out again to other people, plants, or animals, or else it passes to these directly. From this come ideas of metempsychosis, the dead being supposed to have reincarnated, the commonest form being in grandchildren, or in certain animals

<sup>1</sup> Nieuwenhuis (122), i. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 208.

<sup>3</sup> Kruijt (84), 232, 236-7.

which are mysterious, or haunt the grave, or seem to have some connexion with spirits, e.g. snakes, which come up through holes in the earth from the underworld. The soul-substance of living people is imagined as a firefly among the Toradja, the Battak, and in Nias,<sup>1</sup> and all over the Malay Archipelago remnants of the idea of metempsychosis appear, butterflies, &c., being the soul-substance either of the living, or of the dead who have come to visit or fetch some one. There is, however, no idea of retribution, except among the Javanese and Balinese, who have been under Hindu influence. Thus, when Grubauer says that the Toradja soul finally returns to earth as a black ant,<sup>2</sup> it is evidently the soul-substance which is meant, and most cases of a dead person becoming an animal or plant (especially if there is also a definite afterworld) in Indonesia may be explained in this way. Again it is stated that the 'bad' in Nias turn into butterflies,<sup>3</sup> and that 'bad' Karo-Battak become plants or animals;<sup>4</sup> this is surely due to confusion between the soul, which goes to the afterworld, and the soul-substance, which passes into some other living organism (cf. pp. 149-50). As this soul-substance is therefore quite distinct from the true soul, we are not concerned with it further, except to mention in passing that one of the reasons why the dead are so greatly dreaded, especially those who have died unnatural deaths, is because they may carry off the soul-substance of the living. Hence the numerous methods of 'barring the ghost' which are almost universal in funeral rites, particularly before the final departure of the soul to the afterworld, as for example lighting fires and making a noise (Sunda, Minahassa, South Celebes, Dutch New Guinea, Dyaks, Nias, Battak), or tying down the corpse or some part of it (Engano, Malacca, Battak, Nias, Dyaks, Moluccas, Central Celebes), and almost universally for women dying in childbirth,<sup>5</sup> cf. pp. 101-2.

Apart from 'soul-substance', there sometimes occurs a belief in two apparently inconsistent afterworlds, which tends to produce a theory of several souls. This is in many cases due to ethnological causes as the result of a fusion of cultures, as in the Solomon Islands where the underworld of the earlier population

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (84), 238.

<sup>2</sup> Grubauer (49), 269.

<sup>3</sup> Kruijt (83), 362.

<sup>4</sup> Kruijt (83), 375.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt, (84) 240-1.

survives as a vague parallel belief.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless the psychological factor must not be lost sight of, for it may sometimes serve to keep such a belief alive, even if it be not originally responsible for it. From the impression, fortified by dreams, association, and tricks of memory, that the ghost remains near his house or grave even after he has been formally dismissed to his final home, may easily arise the belief in a second abode for the soul less remote from the living than the true spirit-land, and this without raising any difficulty in the illogical mind of a primitive people.

When, however, an explanation is required for such a double existence, this nearer home of the dead may become either a temporary resting-place before final departure, e. g. Kapuas Dyaks of Borneo, Leti Island in Malay Archipelago, &c. (cf. p. 92, &c.), or a haunt revisited by the ghost from time to time (e. g. Watubela Island near Ceram), or an alternative theory held by some people (e. g. Kiwai of the Papuan Gulf, Trobriand Islanders of North Massim), or may lead to a theory of plurality of souls. The latter development is well shown in New Guinea. Among the tribes of Huon Gulf we find the belief in a second kind of soul, akin to the 'soul-substance' of Indonesia, namely the so-called 'soul-stuff' of the Kai and the 'long soul' of the Tami. It is this which leaves the body in sleep, is liable to be abducted by magicians, and is altogether more loosely connected with the person than the true 'short soul', which alone goes to the spirit-land. As a rule this soul-stuff dies with the body or passes into some other form of life; the Tami 'long soul', however, wanders across Malikap on the west coast of New Britain to a certain village in the north (the result of migration, cf. pp. 6-7), while the short soul goes down to the underworld.<sup>2</sup> Similar ideas, though of a rather less concrete order, prevail among the natives of the Northern Division of British New Guinea (i. e. the inland territory near the southern frontier of ex-German New Guinea), who speak of a 'strength' corresponding to 'soul-substance', and a 'thing within' which leaves the body at death and becomes a ghost, i. e. the true

<sup>1</sup> Rivers (138), 395-6, 402-3; Fox and Drew (42), 161, cf. also Wheeler (181), 91, 103, 110-11; Hocart (67), 160; Codrington (22), 264, and Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup> Keysser (77), iii. 112; Bammeler (20), iii. 518.



soul. This 'strength' is, however, a much vaguer conception than that of the second soul, and has many of the characteristics of mana; it is also possessed by animals and inanimate objects from whom it may be acquired by men through charms, and one of the objects of cannibalism is to increase a man's 'strength' at the expense of his victim.<sup>1</sup>

A more definite second-soul, which does not go to the spirit-land and sometimes has only a temporary existence, occurs elsewhere. In the Trobriand Islands there is the mischievous *kosi* (as distinct from the *baloma* which goes to Tuma), the spirit of the dead man which haunts the village, but vanishes after a few days;<sup>2</sup> there is the *aiwao* in the Northern D'Entrecasteaux, the fate of which is unknown, although one native thought that it went to the afterworld with the soul (*alualua*),<sup>3</sup> and the malignant *oboro* of the Bina (Kiwai-speaking Papuans) which haunts the grave;<sup>4</sup> while among the Western Islanders of Torres Straits we have the *mari*, the ghost of a recently deceased person, and the *markai*, the ghost as a definite spirit. In the last case there is an attempt at an explanation, the *markai* being spoken of as a later stage of the *mari*; but that they are really two souls and are both supposed to exist at the same time is shown by the attitude felt towards them, the *mari* being an object of fear, whereas the *markai* is friendly towards the living.<sup>5</sup>

(c) *The House-ghost*. Often, however, it is deemed expedient to provide the ghost with a definite abode among the living, whence, if properly treated, he can exert a beneficent protection over his relations, and his activities can be to a certain extent controlled. In Nias the elaborate *fanau mōco-mōco* ceremony is held twenty or thirty days after a death, and the part of the soul (*aloloa dōdō*)—probably originally soul-substance (cf. p. 59)—which has remained near the corpse in the form of a small animal, is conducted by the village magician to a statuette (*adju*) specially made for this purpose.<sup>6</sup> In South Nias the image (*taragōli*) is placed on the grave itself.<sup>7</sup> The practice of making

<sup>1</sup> Chinnery (29), 132.

<sup>2</sup> Jenness and Ballantyne (75), 148.

<sup>3</sup> Haddon (56), 251, 253.

<sup>4</sup> Modigliani (113), 293-4; Wilken (184), 556-7; Kruijt (83), 326.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (83), 332.

<sup>6</sup> Malinowski (105), 367-70.

<sup>7</sup> Lyons (199), 433.

statuettes representing the dead is very common in the Malay Archipelago, especially among the Toradja,<sup>1</sup> Tolambatu,<sup>2</sup> and Tolampu<sup>3</sup> of Celebes, the Papuans of Dutch New Guinea,<sup>4</sup> the Karo-Battak,<sup>5</sup> and the inhabitants of the Baba, Kei, and Aru Groups,<sup>6</sup> and of Keisar, Leti, and the other south-east islands<sup>7</sup> generally. Among the Tolambatu a life-sized figurine (*tau-tau*), richly-dressed, is set up when the corpse is placed in the funeral urn (*gussu*) and is wept over by the family, and later is taken with the coffin to the burial-caves, conducted thither by the village magician.<sup>8</sup> The Toradja *tau-tau* are also dressed up and placed under the coffin during the funeral feast, and these statuettes are set up prominently in front of the *liang* (rock-shelters in Central Celebes peculiar to the Toradja, which are used as final burial-places), sometimes in a bamboo house. Some of them represent a male warrior and symbolize a much-feared god to whom offerings are made, but probably were originally for the ghost of the departed, and played the same rôle as other statuettes in these regions. Great dread was felt by the natives both of the Tolambatu cave-shelters and of the Toradja *liang*.<sup>9</sup> However, these Celeban images differ from those elsewhere in Indonesia (with the exception of South Nias) in being left with the remains in the final burial-place, instead of being preserved in the spirit-house. They seem to be meant as an abode for the soul while waiting for the death-feast and final-departure rites, and perhaps were taken to the caves in case the ghost should return thither. The Papuans of Dutch New Guinea drive the souls of the dead into images (*korwar*), to which offerings are made, and which are consulted on important occasions, e. g. before going on a journey.<sup>10</sup> Similar images, or stones and pieces of wood as substitutes, occur also in Wettar, Timor, Roma, Dama, and Keisar in the South-east Malay Archipelago, and are common in the Moluccas, where they are often stored away in attics, to be brought out in times of sickness, or for magical

<sup>1</sup> Grubauer (49), 214, 218-19, 260.

<sup>2</sup> Grubauer (49), 128-9.

<sup>3</sup> Grubauer (49), 441-2.

<sup>4</sup> Kruijt (83), 321, 340; Wilken (184), 556-7.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (83), 335.

<sup>6</sup> Riedel (136), 480, 483, pls. xxvi, xxxiv.

<sup>7</sup> Riedel (136), 375, 395, 410-11, 421, 484, pls. xxxvii, xxxviii; Wilken (184), 556; Kruijt (84), 247.

<sup>8</sup> Grubauer (49), 128-9.

<sup>9</sup> Grubauer (49), 131, 134, 214, 218-19, 258, 260.

<sup>10</sup> Wilken (184), 556-7; Kruijt (84), 247; Meinicke (112), i. 126.

purposes.<sup>1</sup> But in every case the power of these images is derived from their contact with the dead, and they are generally made specially for the occasion. Apparently (according to Kruijt) they are a later development of the use of relics as mediums,<sup>2</sup> which is such a very common feature among primitive peoples, just as the Papuans of Ansum, the Angholo of Sumatra, and others, substitute dolls for the corpse of a man who has died away from home, and bring his soul back in it, and perform all the usual rites over it.<sup>3</sup>

This widely spread Indonesian custom of enticing the soul into an image, which is kept for purposes of homage or magic, seems to stand half-way between the mere preservation of the bones or the skull, as e. g. among the Andamanese,<sup>4</sup> and the more developed ancestor and spirit-worship through the medium of images, such as is found among the Battak, Niassers, and in the South Carolines<sup>5</sup> (cf. p. 57). In Selaru (Timorlaut) important skulls are kept in the house after the death-feast, when the other bones are buried.<sup>6</sup> The Dore of the Wonim District (north coast of Dutch New Guinea) use the skull of the dead person in religious ceremonies as a substitute for an image (*karovar*).<sup>7</sup> The Papuans of Te Rhoon have an elaborate dance at the death-feast, in which the bones of the deceased play a prominent part, after which a statuette is made and kept by the relations,<sup>8</sup> and among the Niassers the bones are carefully cleaned by a slave;<sup>9</sup> but generally the images seem to have completely superseded the older custom of preserving the actual bones. There are, however, a few other examples of transition stages. The Tolampu of Central Celebes interred their dead temporarily in the bush. At a feast of the dead the bones were dug up, cleaned, tied together in bundles, and brought to the spirit-house (*lobo*) of the village. Ceremonies were conducted by masked priestesses, the bundles of bones being laid in rows, and each provided with a death-mask supposed to resemble the deceased. Afterwards the masks were set up in the rice-fields

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (84), 247; Riedel (135), 67; id. (136), 421, 460.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (84), 247.

<sup>4</sup> Man (106), 75, 78.

<sup>3</sup> Kruijt (84), 243-4; id. (83), 326, 327.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (84), 247; Finsch (39), iii. 321.

<sup>6</sup> Forbes (41), 324; Riedel (136), 306.

<sup>7</sup> Meinicke (112), i. 126.

<sup>8</sup> Kruijt (83), 339, 340.

<sup>9</sup> Kruijt (83), 332; Modigliani (113), 281.

of the latter, where they remained, while the bones were buried under rocks in the woods, in hollow trees, &c.<sup>1</sup> (Similar death-feast ceremonies occur among the Toradja.<sup>2</sup>) Again, in the Baba Group, the skulls are washed after the death-feast and taken in baskets to the house, where offerings are put in front of them; later they are taken to a cave in the mountains, and when the people return thence a ceremony is held in honour of the dead, who are supposed to stay temporarily in images.<sup>3</sup> This certainly looks as though the images were meant to replace the skulls, and seems to indicate that the final burial of the remains in an inaccessible cave, while the dead man is represented by an image in the spirit-house, is a later development. Perhaps at first the bones (or some of them) were preserved by the relations or in the spirit-house, the ghost being considered as remaining near at hand; then, later, all the bones were taken to distant caves (possibly as a safeguard against the improper use of their magical powers), while the soul was enticed into an image. The actual remains having been carried away to a cave might lead to the belief that the soul had departed to a distant afterworld, although at the same time present in its image, and thus the present form of belief would arise, the two contradictory theories of the soul's ultimate destination presenting no difficulty to the native mind (cf. pp. 58, 168).

Occasionally the ghost is kept with the living by preserving the whole body, as among the Tinguinanes of Luzon, where the corpse is mummified by a long drying process, and then committed to the grave; and though the soul leaves the body, it remains in the family,<sup>4</sup> no doubt attracted in the first place by the presence of the corpse in the house during its desiccation. The Alferu of Wahaai (Ceram) make attempts to keep the body in the house by smearing it with chalk and smoking it with damar before exposing it, but the reason for this is not clear, our only authority being Bastian.<sup>5</sup> There are traces of preservation in the house, probably with this end in view, elsewhere. Desiccation of the corpse over a slow fire is very common among the Papuans of Dutch New Guinea, evidently with the idea of

<sup>1</sup> Grubauer (49), 441, 442.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 343-4; Sarasin (142), i. 231; Kruijt (84), 247.

<sup>3</sup> Riedel (136), 483, pl. xxxiv. <sup>4</sup> Sawyer (144), 279. <sup>5</sup> Bastian (6), i. 148-9.



preserving the dead body and keeping the ghost with the living ; for though it is now the custom in most places to take the remains to a cave after the death-feast, the bones of the deceased still play (as we have seen) a large part in the ceremonies performed, after which they are replaced by images ; and the Papuans of Geelvink Bay (especially on Jobi Island) actually preserve the dried corpse in a corner of the house.<sup>1</sup>

The nearest parallels to these Indonesian statuettes are the *kulab* of the Laur district of New Ireland, and the carved figures at funerals in the Northern D'Entrecasteaux. In the former, as soon as any one died, rough human figures were made of chalk from a special cliff, differing according to sex, and with smaller ones for children. These were preserved in a special hut which the women might not enter, but before which they lamented from time to time the loss of their relative. After a certain interval the figures were silently removed by the men and broken up.<sup>2</sup> We have hardly any information about the customs of these people, and none about their beliefs, but it looks as though these were intended as temporary dwellings for the ghost, perhaps during the interval before its final departure. In the north of New Ireland, Brown noticed a ' number of curiously carved wooden or chalk images ' placed round a spot where a body was being cremated, but he did not discover their significance.<sup>3</sup> At Yamaldi in the Northern D'Entrecasteaux (South-east British New Guinea) a roughly carved figure of the head and shoulders of a man in the likeness of the deceased is set up, so that the dancers at the memorial feast would have it constantly before them ; but after this it lost its significance.<sup>4</sup> This connexion of the image with the final funeral-feast looks as though it were intended as a temporary abode for the soul, as in Dutch New Guinea. The attempt at portraiture is interesting, and is readily understood if the figure is meant to be a receptacle for the dead man's soul, as a substitute for the actual corpse. The effigies of the south of Malecula (New Hebrides), made from the cranium and other bones of the deceased, may also be intended as dwelling-places for the ghost, but are more probably a special form of the

<sup>1</sup> Wilken (184), 301-2 ; Kruijt (83), 339-40 ; Meinicke (112), i. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Parkinson (123), 654-5.

<sup>3</sup> G. Brown (15), 390.

<sup>4</sup> Jenness and Ballantyne (75), 115.

custom of skull-preservation which is so common in Melanesia.<sup>1</sup> Compare, for instance, the use of images in connexion with the chiefly skull-cult in New Georgia (Solomon Islands),<sup>2</sup> and the substitution of an upright stone or a wooden head for the dead man's skull in Eddystone Island.<sup>3</sup>

### § 3. *The Dead depart to more distant regions.*

The belief that the ghost goes to some more distant region, sometimes a mythical 'spirit-land', is fairly widely spread, appearing in its most developed form among the inhabitants of Borneo.

(a) *Some special region.* Often the Land of the Dead is situated somewhere beyond the limits of the tribal area, or in the more inaccessible districts, or else near some remarkable natural feature in the neighbourhood such as a volcano. Thus, among a coast-people, the dead often go to the interior (Admiralty Islanders,<sup>4</sup> Roro of British New Guinea,<sup>5</sup> South Massim of Bartle Bay,<sup>6</sup> inhabitants of Sumba and Buru in the South-east Malay Archipelago<sup>7</sup>), and this is especially the case on islands where the afterworld is not across the sea. It was probably the earlier belief in all the south-east islands of the Malay Archipelago, although now the crossing to another island (which since the migration of the tribe must be undertaken by the ghost before he can reach the old spirit-land of his ancestors) takes such a prominent place in the native eschatology as to obscure the nature of the actual afterworld, which was probably in each case at some point in their own island, as it still is in Sumba, Wettar, and Buru<sup>8</sup> (cf. p. 5). In New Britain also the dead are sometimes said to go to 'the dark parts of the forest'.<sup>9</sup>

A very favourite abode of the dead is among the mountains in the neighbourhood, or which form the tribal boundary, as in the D'Entrecasteaux, where there is a 'spirit-mountain', *Bwebweso*, on Normanby Island.<sup>10</sup> The Koita of British New

<sup>1</sup> Hamlyn-Harris (61), 15.    <sup>2</sup> Williamson (189), 66-7; Somerville (160), 403.

<sup>3</sup> Hocart (200), 92.

<sup>4</sup> Parkinson (123), 386.

<sup>5</sup> Seligman (146), 310.

<sup>6</sup> Seligman (146), 657-8.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (83), 378, 379; Bastian (6), ii. 108; Wilken (184), 318.

<sup>8</sup> Kruijt (83), 378-9; Riedel (136), 453; Wilken (184), 318; Bastian (6), ii. 108.

<sup>9</sup> Pfeil (129), 144.

<sup>10</sup> G. Brown (15), 399.

Guinea,<sup>1</sup> the Dusun of Borneo,<sup>2</sup> and the inhabitants of Ceram and Watubela,<sup>3</sup> all send their dead to a special mountain, while among the Nasioi of South-east Bougainville,<sup>4</sup> the Bontoc Igorots of Luzon,<sup>5</sup> some of the so-called 'Dyaks' of Dutch Borneo,<sup>6</sup> and the Mountain Toradja,<sup>7</sup> the souls of the dead wander in the neighbouring mountains.

Inaccessibility or mystery seem to play an important part in this type of afterworld. The interior, the 'dark forest', the bush, or the 'land beyond the mountains' (i. e. outside the tribal territory) is generally more or less unknown and difficult of access; in the Admiralty Islands the interior is the abode of the primitive Usiai, who have been driven into the unfavourable regions by the Moanus, and is also supposed to be inhabited by all sorts of spirits.<sup>8</sup> Mountains, again, are often mysterious, especially when hidden in mist, or so high that they seem to reach the sky. Sarasin gives accounts of several 'sacred mountains' in Celebes, which the natives were afraid to ascend, as being the abodes of spirits. 'All isolated mountain-tops', he says, 'are considered as holy dwelling-places of a mountain-god, the former national god of the surrounding peoples,'<sup>9</sup> and the Bowonglangi, which is nearly always wrapped in cloud, even when other peaks are clear, is especially sacred.<sup>10</sup> Above all, volcanoes are marked out as abodes of the dead. Mount Bareka on Bougainville is the general meeting-place for souls from all the islands round,<sup>11</sup> and even the Mono-Alu, who have final abodes in their own islands, send their dead first to Bareka,<sup>12</sup> as though unable to resist the attraction of this huge volcano. Santa Cruz and Savo dead also go to volcanoes,<sup>13</sup> and in the latter no native dare approach the crater of the now quiescent volcano on the island, and many of the other special spirit-mountains are (or were) very possibly volcanic, although this is not expressly stated.

There seem to be no particular rites connected with this

<sup>1</sup> Seligman (146), 189.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 381.

<sup>3</sup> Kruijt (83), 377; Riedel (136), 144, 211.

<sup>4</sup> Burger (17), 36-7.

<sup>5</sup> Jenks (74), 197.

<sup>6</sup> Kruijt (83), 380-1.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (83), 379.

<sup>8</sup> Parkinson (123), 386.

<sup>9</sup> Sarasin (142), ii. 245, 248, 325.

<sup>10</sup> Sarasin (142), ii. 248.

<sup>11</sup> Wheeler (181), 91, 103, 107; Guppy (51), 53; Thurnwald (171), i. 320.

<sup>12</sup> Wheeler (181), 103, 108-10.

<sup>13</sup> Codrington (22), 264; Woodford (192), 167, 173.

type of spirit-land, which is fairly common among comparatively primitive peoples, though the practice of choosing mysterious and inaccessible spots as final burying-places may have helped to strengthen this belief. The spirit-mountain (or wherever the ghosts dwell) is always avoided and feared by the living.<sup>1</sup>

(b) *A mythical land a long way off.* Certain peoples have a mythical land of the dead, situated a long way off, and reached by a complicated and perilous journey. This appears prominently among the inhabitants of Borneo (Kayans,<sup>2</sup> Milans,<sup>3</sup> Olo Ngadjoe,<sup>4</sup> and Olo Maanjam<sup>5</sup>). The Kayan spirit-world is the basin of a large river, the *Long Malan*, and is also divided into districts, the destination of each soul being determined by the manner of death, and the journey thither is full of dangers (a map of it was made for Hose and McDougall by a Madang chief).<sup>6</sup> The Milano and Punan beliefs are much the same, with varying details.<sup>7</sup> It is possible that this is an extension of the 'special region' type of afterworld which we have just been considering, for other Bornean tribes (the Dusun,<sup>8</sup> and the 'Dayaks' of Kruijt<sup>9</sup>), go to mountains, and the souls of the Kapuas Dyaks (Kayan-Bahau) remain in Mount Batu Tilung before starting finally on their long journey after the funeral-gifts have been placed with the corpse.<sup>10</sup> In the case of the Kayans the afterworld may at first have been underground, as the Karens of Burma to whom they are related, and who have a very similar spirit-land called *Apu Logan* (the Kayan one is *Apo Leggan*), state that everything is upside-down there,<sup>11</sup> which generally implies an underworld. The Kayans, through their long migrations, may have lost the original idea of the locality of their spirit-land, the dangers and difficulties of the journey looming so large as to usurp the most important place in the conception of the life after death.

Moreover, there is a certain amount of definite evidence that

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 377; Sarasin (142), ii. 245-8; Forbes (41), 324; G. Brown (15), 399.

<sup>2</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 40-4; Nieuwenhuis (122), i. 103-5.

<sup>3</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 140; De Crespigny (26), 35; Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Kruijt (83), 345 et seq.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (83), 346-8.

<sup>6</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 40, 43, 44.

<sup>7</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 44, 45.

<sup>8</sup> Kruijt (83), 381.

<sup>9</sup> Kruijt (83), 380-1.

<sup>10</sup> Nieuwenhuis (122), i. 104.

<sup>11</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 239.



this complicated route is due to the migration of the tribe, and represents the journey back to its original home, whither the ghost would naturally return, and by which the corpse was taken back in former days. The Olo Ngadjoe have elaborate ceremonies at their death-feast, chief of which is a litany (*magah liah*) by which the priest conducts the soul to the spirit-land.<sup>1</sup> In this invocation the soul's journey is described in detail, and the various places mentioned correspond with certain spots which would actually be passed in the journey to Mambaroeh, a region between the Upper Kahajan and Mëlawi, from which the Olo Ngadjoe originally came. Thus it seems highly probable that in former times the corpse was actually taken back up the Kahajan to the tribal home, but that when memories became dimmer, and as the bringing back presented many difficulties, the journey was only made figuratively, and the spots merely named in the ritual chant. It is only after the death-feast has been celebrated that the remains are taken to their final abode in the *sandong* (mausoleum), which is often a long way off. The death-feast itself is at varying periods after death, sometimes not for eight or ten years, which looks as though in the old days it had sometimes been necessary to wait for a long time before it was found possible to undertake the difficult journey back with the corpse. Among the Olo Maanjam of Siong the soul cannot find the way to the spirit-land alone, but at the death-feast is conducted thither by the magician (*wadian matai*) as among the Olo Ngadjoe.<sup>2</sup> As these people have also migrated to their present region, it seems highly probable that this custom is likewise a ritual survival of a former practice of taking back the corpse to the tribal home. Among the Bahau of Long Wahou on the Upper Telen River again, they speak of the soul going *back* to the afterworld, as though the tribe had originally come thence.<sup>3</sup> Though there is no such direct evidence elsewhere, the similarity in the ritual, and the fact that the Kayans are known to have migrated in comparatively recent times,<sup>4</sup> lends probability to the explanation that this type of spirit-land is connected with the migration of a people. The Kayan *daygong* (magician) gives very careful directions to the dead man as to the route he must

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 345-6.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 346.

<sup>3</sup> Bock (13), 229.

<sup>4</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 232 et seq.

take on his journey<sup>1</sup> (corresponding with the litanies of the Olo Ngadjoe), and there is some evidence that at one point he has to cross the sea in a canoe,<sup>2</sup> although this does not fit in with the supposed afterworld in a valley reached by a log-bridge across a river. The Dusun and Milano, who have adopted Kayan culture, have similar beliefs, and also give directions to the dead man;<sup>3</sup> and among the Milano the idea of crossing the sea appears more clearly.<sup>4</sup>

Instances of the dead being supposed to return to the original home of the tribe are not wanting in other parts of Indonesia. In many of the south-east islands of the Malay Archipelago the dead go to a neighbouring island, whence the people are known to have migrated (Savu,<sup>5</sup> Rotti<sup>6</sup>), and in Leti<sup>7</sup> the descendants of immigrants from Luang and Holland return thither respectively after death, while the natives remain in their own island. The Toradja of Central Celebes have a tradition that they came from Mount Tineba, which is their spirit-land;<sup>8</sup> in Minahassa the home of the dead was formerly placed in the north, and it is from the north that the four chief tribes came, according to linguistic and ethnographical indications.<sup>9</sup>

In conclusion, I would suggest that the influence of migration is only secondary, and does not affect the locality of the afterworld as such, but only the journey thither. Before the tribe left its original home, the dead would have their abode in some neighbouring mountain, in the forest, or in some similar region, as occurs so often among primitive peoples, and after the migration the souls of the dead would still go to join their dead relatives. Perhaps at first, as in the case of the Olo Ngadjoe, the corpse itself would be taken back to ensure the return of the ghost; later it would be thought sufficient to give directions to the dead man, and to perform certain ritual which would enable the soul to undertake the journey alone, in spite of the difficulties of the road, and the dangers from various ghostly

<sup>1</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 143; Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 143-4, quoting Hose.

<sup>4</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 145, quoting Brooke.

<sup>5</sup> Wilken (184), 318; Kruijt (83), 342; Bastian (6), ii. 108.

<sup>6</sup> Bastian (6), ii. 65, 108; Kruijt (83), 378-9; Wilken (184), 318.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (83), 377; Bastian (6), ii. 108; Wilken (184), 318.

<sup>8</sup> Kruijt (83), 373.

<sup>9</sup> Kruijt (83), 373.

enemies. But as the memory of the former home became less distinct, and the protective ritual more important, the nature of the true spirit-land would sink into obscurity, the whole attention being focused on the perilous journey of the soul, and on the rites to ensure its safe arrival. Thus in Savu and Leti the dead do not go to a true 'island afterworld', but only cross the sea because, since the migration of the tribe, it forms a necessary part of their journey to rejoin their ancestral ghosts. The actual spirit-land of the various Kayan tribes and their neighbours is practically similar, but there are many different and conflicting versions of the journey thither, due to various migrations, with a trace even of a voyage across the sea.

(c) *A site of historical importance.* In a few isolated instances the locality of the afterworld has been determined by historical events. Thus the Badoewi of Bantam (who are non-Mohammedan Sundanese) go to *lĕmah bodas* (i. e. 'the white spot') in the south of Artja bodas, a wild country containing graves, and which appears to be the last resting-place of their revered Padjadjaran prince, under whom they fled from Islam.<sup>1</sup> Hence his followers repair to this sacred spot after death.

Another instance of this kind is that of the final abodes of the Mono-Alu dead (Bougainville Straits), who are supposed to go to the volcano Bareka on Bougainville, and after remaining there some time return to spirit-lands on their own islands. In both Mono and Alu there are several of these homes of the dead, though only one in each island is in general use at the present day; the others belonged to older times, and each has been superseded in turn. As far as can be ascertained, these special afterworlds owe their origin to some particular historical event, especially connected with some great chief who died there. Probably each village had a special ground, and as a chief's ghost generally stays on where he died, one of these might become a general abode of the dead in certain circumstances, depending, for example, on the importance of a chief who died there, or the occurrence of some striking event, such as a fight, in connexion with his death. The dead are sometimes said to live underground, and to be active at night.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this is

Kruijt (83), 373-4; Wilken (184), 319.

<sup>2</sup> Wheeler (181), 91 &c., 103-11.

the original primitive belief,<sup>1</sup> with the usual supplementary notion that the ghost haunts the grave; battles with incoming enemies, the influence of important chiefs, and, above all, the tabu attached to their burial-places, would bring the secondary haunting idea into prominence, and tend to oust or at any rate completely overshadow the underground theory. Apart from this, there seems to be in these islands a fusion of two different beliefs concerning the afterworld; the present theory that the soul crosses first to the volcano on Bougainville, and 'when the body is well' returns to its own island,<sup>2</sup> appears to combine the conception of a home of the dead in a volcano, similar to that found among the Buin and in Eddystone Island,<sup>3</sup> with a spirit-land near the burial-grounds, or possibly under the earth.

Of these three types of afterworlds on earth, the first is chiefly negative and vague, characteristic of peoples for whom it has little importance or meaning; the second is mainly subjective, based on fear, and concerned with the relations of the survivors with the dead man; the third is objective, and deals with the fate of the soul itself.

There is, moreover, comparatively little connexion between ritual and belief. The whole conception of the afterworld is in most cases much more vague than when the dead go across the sea or underground, and there is less scope for special ritual in connexion with it, so that the attention of the survivors tends to be centred more especially on preventing the return of the ghost, or in making provision for the needs and dangers of the journey to his new abode, rather than on the topographical conditions of the latter.

There is some evidence that the first type of afterworld belongs to primitive nomadic peoples, and is generally connected with simple ritual. From a psychological point of view this is exactly what we should expect, but unfortunately the evidence at our disposal is very limited. Traces of such ideas underlie the more elaborate beliefs and rites in Indonesia, but their very vagueness makes investigation difficult, and they are easily overlaid by more definite theories. Perhaps the Indonesian

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup> Wheeler (181), 93.

<sup>3</sup> Thurnwald (171), i. 320-1; Wheeler (181), 103.



'soul-substance' is a survival of some such idea. The abodes of the ancestral spirits in Micronesia (cf. p. 57) are also of this vague type, and are associated rather with ancestor-worship than with funerary ritual, although this belief may perhaps be connected with the custom of preserving the bones in the house, as in the case of the 'house-ghost' elsewhere.

The genuine grave-ghost, who is neither the soul at the first stage of his journey while awaiting the final departure rites, nor yet merely 'soul-substance' which cannot long subsist apart from the body, is the object of general fear and suspicion, but has little connexion with ritual. The fires lighted by the grave and other attentions are generally meant for the true soul, and are discontinued at its departure to the spirit-land, but in the Malay Peninsula there is some evidence that the soul-house and the food placed on it is intended for the grave-demon, which is here practically an additional soul. Elsewhere the grave-ghost is sometimes fed, but usually merely avoided, and forms one of the many spirits of various kinds which cause disease and disaster, or steal man's 'soul-substance'.

The house-ghost seems to be definitely connected with the custom of preserving the body, which is intended to keep the ghost in the family. The enticing of the soul into a statuette rests on a strong psychological motive, in which the conflicting emotions of fear and affection both have their share, and is developed from the practice of preserving the bones of the dead. There would seem to be three stages in this development, as shown by the examples given above:

- (a) The bones are collected after the flesh has decayed, and are preserved in the house or worn by the relations, as a mark of affection or for magical purposes.
- (b) Various transitional forms, in which images are gradually substituted for the bones.
- (c) Final burial of the bones in caves, and the images preserved in their place.

As there is generally a definite afterworld besides the belief in the presence of the ghost in the statuette, it seems probable that with the custom of final burial of the bones came the theory of the more distant home of the dead, while at the same time

the soul remained in its image just as it stayed with the bones when they themselves were actually preserved. This would account for the apparent contradiction in the eschatology of these peoples.

The departure of the dead to some special region, such as a mountain, is the commonest type of belief in Indonesia, and often occurs elsewhere (except in Polynesia), but there are no particular rites connected with it.

In the mythical spirit-land a long way off, we find a definite influence of migration on ritual, and this in turn affects the conception of the afterworld, especially with regard to the dangerous journey thither, and its remoteness from the present habitat of the living. Thus the migration makes it necessary to bring back the corpse to the ancestral burial-ground, and the distance of the latter leads to difficulties, with the result that the final rites have to be postponed until a favourable opportunity occurs. When this practice is replaced by merely conveying the soul by means of magical rites and litanies, this ritual becomes extremely important and elaborate, and soon the whole character of the spirit-land is changed, and it becomes a remote place only reached after a dangerous and difficult journey, the chief duty of the survivors towards the deceased being to provide the necessary charms and provisions which alone can ensure his safe arrival.

## VIII

### AFTERWORLD IN THE SKY

AN afterworld in the sky is comparatively rare, and in almost every case is not the only home of the dead. In fact, it is so very definitely an alternative to the usual spirit-land that it may be suspected of being a late intruder, which has partially ousted or fused with the original belief. In many places, again, it is obviously due to the influence of higher religions, especially in Western Indonesia.

#### §.I. *Foreign Influence.*

The influence of the Mohammedan heaven is strong in the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, and elsewhere within the sphere of Malay penetration, where the spirit-land is spoken of as being situated on the horizon, at the beginning of the sky, in the atmosphere, &c., in spite of traces of entirely different indigenous beliefs. In the Malay Peninsula, the 'Island of Fruits' of the Semang, Sakai, and Jakun is said to lie towards sunset in the west, and divided into higher and lower tiers<sup>1</sup> (Semang, Mantra), or to be in the moon (Besisi) where the soul is received into the heavens by a clap of thunder;<sup>2</sup> or it is held that souls fly up to the sky (Eastern Semang),<sup>3</sup> or travel towards the west and are absorbed into the effulgence of the setting sun.<sup>4</sup> According to Martin, these beliefs are probably a mixture of the primitive belief in an 'island of fruits' with the Malay *Kělong-song-Avan* (*Wölkenumhüllung*) in the sky.<sup>5</sup> The original afterworld is represented by the 'Land of Screw-Pines and Thatch-Palms where was the hole into which the sun fell at night' (i.e. probably underground) for people other than medicine-men among the Western Semang,<sup>6</sup> the underworld of the Sakai-Jakun of the Tekai River, which is ruled over by an old woman,<sup>7</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 207, 209, 321; Martin (109), 952; Logan (99), 326.

<sup>2</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 298-9.

<sup>3</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 205.

<sup>4</sup> Newbold (120), 390.

<sup>6</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 208-9.

<sup>5</sup> Martin (109), 952.

<sup>7</sup> Evans (36), 196.

'Red Earth' for violent deaths among the Mantra.<sup>1</sup> The connexion with Malay beliefs appears plainly in the native account from the Central Sakai of the Sungkai River Valley: 'the spirits . . . pass to the west, and try to get into heaven by the gate at which the souls of Malays enter. This they cannot do, so they go round by another way.'<sup>2</sup>

In Sumatra, again, the land of the dead has been raised to heaven by the influence of Islam, though originally it seems to have been underground (cf. p. 53), as it still is among the Toba-Battak.<sup>3</sup> The spirit-land on the horizon of the Galelorese (Moluccas),<sup>4</sup> and the heavenly ancestral home in Nias, are due to similar causes; in the conversion to Islam of the latter, the abyss dividing the afterworld from earth has become a purificatory fire, and the native cat-guardian has received recognition as a sacred animal.<sup>5</sup>

## § 2. *Connexion with the Sun and the Western Horizon.*

The sunset is frequently an important feature in legends concerning the land of the dead, which is stated to be on the western horizon where the sun sets, or in the western sky. It seems probable, however, that the rôle played by the sun in these beliefs has been overstated, and that this type of afterworld is more often connected with a spirit-land underground, or across the sea, than in the sky.

We have already seen (pp. 78-9) that a 'Paradise on the western horizon' or 'up above in the sky' is due to Islam in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, and that the 'island in the west towards sunset' of the Kiwai and Torres Strait Islanders is connected with migration and probably with an underworld (cf. pp. 12-13, 52-3). When the ancestral home in the west becomes a mythical place, and, above all, when it is connected with the home of the gods or of deified chiefs, as in Polynesia, other elements creep into the complex; the western direction leads to a fictitious connexion with sunset and the sun, while the deified chiefs, who originally joined certain gods in *Po*, are no longer confined to the afterworld, but (in contrast to ordinary mortals)

<sup>1</sup> Martin (109), 953; Logan (99), 326; Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 321-2.

<sup>2</sup> Evans (36), 180.

<sup>3</sup> Kruijt (83), 372, 374-5.

<sup>4</sup> Kruijt (83), 378.

<sup>5</sup> De Zwaan (196), 127, 237; Modigliani (113), 293; Kruijt (83), 362.



are counted with the higher deities in the sky. This idea is fostered by the priests, in whose hands lies the actual deification by means of ritual. Thus, in those parts of Polynesia where the glorification of chiefs is prominent, the latter tend to be deified and to join the gods in the sky; where the return to the ancestral home in the west is the central feature of belief, the connexion is rather with the setting sun.

(a) *Dwelling-place of the gods.* The rise of a 'priestly heaven' (probably in the sky) for chiefs is clearly shown in Tahiti. The original afterworld is *Po*,<sup>1</sup> the 'Place of Night', in which live the older gods and the deified souls who are 'eaten' by them, and which corresponds to the general Polynesian spirit-land across or under the sea (cf. especially the Samoan *Pulotu*, the abode of deified chiefs and original gods<sup>2</sup>); another heaven, variously known as *Meru*, *Rohutu*, *Noanoa*, &c., a region filled with all delights, placed vaguely near a certain high mountain, is especially reserved for chiefs and *Areois*,<sup>3</sup> who can afford to pay for the special priest who has the keys of *Rohutu Noanoa*, and is evidently a later religious development.<sup>4</sup> The Hawaiian beliefs resemble those of Tahiti, and there is a vague belief in *Miru* (=Tahitian *Meru*), and in a god 'the eyeball of the sun' who conducts chiefs thither (as well as *Po* or *Wakea*, the ancestral home), this knowledge being derived from visions or dreams of the priests, which they expounded 'greatly to their own interest';<sup>5</sup> bones of kings were preserved and deified.<sup>6</sup> A home in the sky for chiefs occurs in the Marquesas and the Paumotu Archipelago, where burial in the *marae* is likewise connected with deification and worship,<sup>7</sup> and also in the Ellice Islands<sup>8</sup> and in Niue.<sup>9</sup>

Very similar beliefs are found in the island-group in the North Solomons, Abgarris, Mortlock, and Tasman Islands (=Nuguria, Tauu, and Nukumanu), the culture of which is

<sup>1</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Stair (161), 211; Meinicke (112), ii. 118.

<sup>3</sup> i. e. members of secret society.

<sup>4</sup> Ellis (33), i. 245-6, 396-7, 403-4; id. (32), 342; Cook (23), ii. 164; Meinicke (112), ii. 179.

<sup>5</sup> Ellis (32), 340-1; Bryan (16), 50; Jarves (73), 38-9; Meinicke (112), ii. 300.

<sup>6</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 281; Bryan (16), 53; Ellis (32), 334.

<sup>7</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 253, 218; Langsdorff (90), 154; Rivers (139), ii. 263.

<sup>8</sup> Turner (176), 292-3.

<sup>9</sup> Percy Smith (156), 197; Thomson (168), 94.

Polynesian, with Micronesian influence. The ancestor-worship of the chiefs is similar to that in Mortlock and Ruk in the Carolines, and in the Marshalls, &c. (cf. p. 16); while the beliefs of the nobles resemble those we have just noted in Polynesia, including ritual-conducting by the priests to an abode beyond the stars.<sup>1</sup>

In New Zealand the chiefly sky afterworld is less pronounced, and may have been influenced by Christianity, especially as our most definite information is from Taylor,<sup>2</sup> whose book is stated by Elsdon Best to be unreliable, 'for the trail of the missionary is over it all'.<sup>3</sup> But, after comparison with other Polynesian beliefs, is it not possible that the Maori were also inclined to send their deified chiefs—who are now gods themselves<sup>4</sup>—to the dwelling of the sky-god *Rangi*, and that this may be a later theory (albeit still a native one) than that of *Po* or *Reinga*? In some tribes 'it was held that the souls of chiefs and *Tohungas* (priests), at least, ascended to heaven (*Rangi*)'. And at death *karakia* were addressed to *Tawhaki*, 'so that the spirit of the deceased might ascend to heaven, *Tawhaki's* abode'.<sup>5</sup> White (writing of the South Island, whereas Elsdon Best deals chiefly with the Bay of Plenty region) says that priests and chiefs are believed to be the offspring of certain gods, and that the souls of their descendants went up to the heavens, there to exist eternally.<sup>6</sup> Certainly, at the funeral ceremonies of priests and chiefs, a taro-bulb was placed in the hand of the corpse, and incantations were chanted by the *tohunga* in order to assist the soul to ascend (and for commoners, that they might descend to *Po*<sup>7</sup>—perhaps a modern elaboration); by successive prayers the soul ascended through the different heavens, the tenth being the chief residence of the gods.<sup>8</sup> The resemblance between this belief in priestly conducting and the Tahitian ceremony, where a special priest conveys the soul to the chiefly heaven and consigns it to the god,<sup>9</sup> is so close that they must surely belong to the same category.

It would seem, therefore, that the sky-home of the Polynesian chiefs is connected with their deification, and that its almost

<sup>1</sup> Parkinson (123), 528-31.

<sup>2</sup> Elsdon Best (47) (editorial note), 26.

<sup>3</sup> Goldie (47), 25.

<sup>4</sup> White (183), 362.

<sup>5</sup> Shortland (150), 44; Taylor (166), 220.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor (166), 232, 389.

<sup>4</sup> Tregear (174), 122.

<sup>7</sup> White (183), 362-4.

<sup>9</sup> Ellis (33), i. 245, 403-4.

complete dependence upon ritual is a comparatively recent religious growth, fostered by the priesthood. Possibly the root-idea goes back to some afterworld belonging to the race before its migration, which became obscured by the western ancestral home across the sea ; with the exaltation of the chiefs and their deification, the old belief may have revived in a new form under priestly guidance as a Paradise among the gods for those for whom the necessary rites had been performed.

(b) *Ancestral home in the West.* In South Polynesia a return to the ancestral home in the west has remained the dominant characteristic of beliefs about the afterlife. In Samoa, Tonga, and the Hervey Group (i. e. Cook Islands) the afterworld lies in the west, the direction from which the ancestors came ;<sup>1</sup> the Samoan corpse is orientated with the face looking west,<sup>2</sup> and in Mangaia (Hervey Group) the great burial-caves of the ruling families, from which their ghosts set off to *Avaiiki*, lie on the west of the island.<sup>3</sup> These Mangaian families claim to be descended from *Rongo* (the Sky-God), and their ancestors came from the region of the setting sun, and the head of the corpse was always turned towards the rising sun (i. e. facing west ?) 'in reference (we are told by Dr. Gill) to the ancient solar worship' ; according to native belief 'the spirits of the dead assemble for departure to the shades in the track of the sun . . . march to the edge of the cliff overlooking the ocean, and leap from rock to rock, finally disappearing over the sea with the king of day'. The corpses were daily anointed with oil by the relatives, and occasionally exposed to the sun, re-anointed and re-wrapped.<sup>4</sup> It looks as though this connexion with the sun were a late extension, founded on the coincidence of the western direction with the sunset, and the alleged relationship with the sky-god, and possibly connected with the exposure to the sun during the process of desiccation (cf. pp. 165-6). The western direction of the afterworld elsewhere in Polynesia is certainly due to migration, and not connected with the sun ; compare, for instance, the *Burotu* (= *Pulotu* and *Po*) of the Lau Islands, which lies to the south-east, because that is the direction from which the early

<sup>1</sup> Turner (176), 257 ; Gill (45), 71 ; Mariner (107), ii. 108 ; Meinicke (112), ii. 81, 118, 147.

<sup>2</sup> Krämer (82), ii. 103 ; Meinicke (112), ii. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Gill (45), 71 ; Percy Smith (157), 172.

<sup>4</sup> Gill (45), 71-2, 75-6.

Polynesian immigrants came <sup>1</sup> (cf. p. 11). In New Zealand and the Chatham Islands the ancestral home *Hawaiki* is in the west, reached from a leaping-off place on the north-west or west,<sup>2</sup> while Chatham Islanders were buried facing west for this reason.<sup>3</sup>

Thus the connexion between the sun and the western afterworld in South Polynesia appears to be more or less accidental, the dominant feature being really migration, reflected in ritual by orientation to the west, and by the Mangaian burial-caves in the west of the island. Apparent traces of a sky afterworld are probably due to the connexion of deified chiefs with the sky-god. The horizon afterworld of the Banapans (Gilbert Islands), sometimes placed 'up' in the sky, also belongs to this category, as the inhabitants of this island (unlike their neighbours who returned more recently from Samoa) consider themselves autochthonous, and have forgotten the earlier ancestral migration. Their western spirit-land for fishermen (*Matennang*) lies in the west 'under the sea', but should be interpreted figuratively 'over the horizon', i. e. very far away.<sup>4</sup>

(c) *Entrance to Underworld*. Again, an afterworld on the western horizon often implies a spirit-land underground rather than in the sky. It has already been noted (cf. pp. 39-40) that there is a common idea that the sun goes to the underworld at night, so that it is day there when it is night here. Connected with this is the notion that the souls of the dead go down with the sun at sunset through a hole on the western horizon, and the ghost is often thought to depart at sunset. Thus in the Torres Straits Islands there is an undersea route to *Beig* which is beneath the island of Boigu and the sea, and to which the sun goes at night <sup>5</sup> (cf. p. 12), and the Andamanese underworld is lighted in turn by the sun and moon, or among some tribes is situated 'over the edge of the world', or in the sky.<sup>6</sup> The Toradja of Celebes have an underworld, and orientate the corpse to the west, as though that were the way the soul entered, and believe that when the sun goes down it is light in the spirit-land.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, in Indonesia there is apparently a close association

<sup>1</sup> St. Johnston (165), 14, 29-30, 45.

<sup>2</sup> Elsdon Best (9), 161, 233; Vaux (177), 55-6; Shand (148), 167.

<sup>3</sup> Dendy (29), 126; Shand (148), 162.

<sup>4</sup> Grimble (198), 49, 52-4.

<sup>5</sup> Haddon (56), 252.

<sup>6</sup> Man (106), 93; A. R. Brown (197), 168-70.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (83), 370, 372.



between the setting sun and the dead (though perhaps Kruijt carries this rather far), and it seems probable that an underground afterworld was much more universal formerly.<sup>1</sup> The 'setting of the sun' means 'dying' in Macassar, Angholo (Sumatra), and among the Toradja and the Battak;<sup>2</sup> and among many tribes in the Malay Archipelago the doors of the houses are orientated to the west, so that a man entering has his face to the east, lest his soul-substance be taken away to the west with the setting sun.<sup>3</sup> Among the Galelorese of Halmahera, although the spirit-land is on the horizon at the beginning of the sky (influenced by Islam, cf. p. 79), the corpse is buried with its face towards sunset just before the sun goes down, so that 'it may take the soul with it',<sup>4</sup> which looks as if it were originally underground. (There is also a spirit-land on a reef, perhaps due to migration, cf. pp. 26-7, 173. In the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra (Niassers and Battak), where the Malay heaven has influenced the native underworld, the entrance to the afterworld is always on the horizon, and often connected with the sun, cf. pp. 78-9.)

In this connexion it is noteworthy that in the Trobriands (North Massim), where the ghosts are thought to live underground, interment finally takes place at sunset<sup>5</sup> (compare also the tribes of the Gulf of Papua on pp. 52-3).

Thus we find that an afterworld on the western horizon, where the sun sets, very seldom indicates a spirit-land in the sky. In Polynesia it is generally an extension of the idea of a return to a western ancestral home, with consequent orientation of the corpse to the west, and incidentally towards sunset (cf. pp. 171-2), while elsewhere (especially Indonesia) it is frequently the entrance to the underworld, through which the dead go down with the sun.

### § 3. *For Special Classes.*

There are sporadic instances of a sky afterworld for certain classes of people, notably warriors and those who have suffered unnatural deaths. Among the Elema of the Papuan Gulf (between Cape Possession and the Purari Delta) warriors dying

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 369-71, 380.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 369-70.

<sup>3</sup> Kruijt (83), 370.

<sup>4</sup> Kruijt (83), 369, 378.

<sup>5</sup> Malinowski (105), 370; Seligman (146), 719.

in battle go to the residence of the God of War, somewhere in the sky, though they often roam about among their old surroundings, and annoy their enemies. Hence, after every fight, the village is switched with firebrands to get rid of them, and a procession (towards the sea in a beach village, and towards the locality of the spirit-land in the interior) takes place, with drum-beating and blowing of conch-shells and shouting to frighten them back to the home of the dead.<sup>1</sup> Other violent deaths merely roam about, so perhaps the sending of warriors to the sky is because they are more powerful ghosts whom it is desirable to remove as far as possible. In the North D'Entrecasteaux a few natives believe that those killed fighting go up to the sky, and are gathered into a large bowl containing the sea, woods, and all known foods, where they live a life of feasting and dancing and no fighting. Pigs are killed and roasted in the sun, while other foods are ready cooked.<sup>2</sup> But this is only current among a few natives, so is perhaps a legend invented for the glorification of warriors.

A sky afterworld for warriors and nobles, accompanied by different rites, occurs in Watubela (moon) and Ceram, while the souls of ordinary people go to the mountains at death. The Bontoc Igorots' sky-world for beheaded people (*pintengs*)<sup>3</sup> possibly belongs to the same category; for as most warriors end their lives as *pintengs*, the latter practically represent that particular class, and it is rather a question of rank than of suffering a violent death. Also in the North Solomon Group (Abgarris Island, &c.) the souls of priests and nobles (but not high priests) are conveyed 'above the stars' by priestly ritual, and the idea of the moon as the abode of kings and priests, and of stars representing the deceased, occurs in the Union Group and in Penrhyn Islands (cf. pp. 80-1).

According to Mr. Perry the sky afterworld in Indonesia belongs to a set of immigrants, represented by the chiefly lines and warrior classes, with whom are associated the use of stone, terraced irrigations, warfare (!), head-hunting, human sacrifice &c., and also a cult of the sun, and the belief in soul-substance which he holds to be connected with the sky and sky-beings.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Holmes (69), 428.

<sup>2</sup> Jenks (74), 182-3, 197-8.

<sup>3</sup> Jenness and Ballantyne (75), 146.

<sup>4</sup> Perry (128), 119, 152-3, 180-1.

Without, however, accepting the whole of his hypothesis, especially with regard to soul-substance, this sky afterworld for warriors and priests, connected with the moon or stars, such as is found in Ceram and Watubela, may well be due to some immigrant race, especially as there is also a differentiation in rites. On the other hand, the moon and stars may merely occur as a convenient alternative afterworld when one was required, especially as they so often play a part in mythology and other legends; in two such widely separated regions as the Gazelle Peninsula and the Torres Straits, shooting stars are thought to represent deceased persons,<sup>1</sup> and in the former are the ghosts of people who have been murdered or eaten by wild beasts.<sup>2</sup> Among the Mono-Alu of Bougainville Straits also, the falling of a shooting star is a sign of death, and is connected with the diving of the soul into the sea on its way to the spirit-land;<sup>3</sup> but here there seems to be some association with an underworld belief (cf. Appendix I). (It is possible that this belief is much more widespread than has been reported.)

Thus the sky afterworld for special classes may be of two kinds:

1. *Unnatural deaths.* This occurs sporadically, and seems to be an attempt to remove the revengeful ghosts as far as possible from the living. Hence they are placed in the sky. It is generally found in combination with some ritual for chasing away the dead, or special rites and orientation to ensure the separation of souls in the hereafter. This particular form is, however, so rare, and a sky spirit-land seems to be so foreign to primitive peoples, that in most places foreign immigration, or at any rate culture-contact, may be suspected.

2. *Warriors and nobles.* In one special area, viz. Ceram, Watubela, and (probably) among the Bontoc Igorots of Luzon (and perhaps the North Solomons, Union Group, and Penrhyn Islands), the sky afterworld seems to be confined to chiefs or warriors who also have different rites, so is possibly a special culture associated with some particular racial migration.

It is thus seen that a sky afterworld is very rare among the primitive peoples in this region, and is either intrusive or alterna-

<sup>1</sup> Haddon (56), 252-3.

<sup>2</sup> Wheeler (181), 85, 94.

<sup>3</sup> Kleintitschen (79), 227.

tive. In Western Indonesia it is due to Moslem influence, and has been superimposed upon native beliefs in the form of a final home of the dead, or a better afterworld for certain classes of people. Elsewhere it may be divided into two types :

1. A religious development.
2. Associated with the separation of certain classes of souls.

(1) *Religious development.* This type is found especially in North Polynesia, for chiefs only, and is connected with the 'deification' of the latter, after which they join the gods in the sky or in some specially good Paradise. The attainment of this state depends entirely upon ritual regulated by the priests, who seem to be responsible for the elevation of these chiefly souls from the original afterworld *Po*. Traces of this type of sky afterworld are found in New Zealand, and possibly in Mangaia, but in both the ancestral home in the west is more prominent.

A special form of this religious development is the moon and star afterworld, which occurs in a limited area from Ceram and Watubela to Penrhyn Islands, and may possibly be part of a special culture-wave.

(2) *Separation of certain ghosts.* This type of sky afterworld is very rare, with a sporadic distribution, and is perhaps a way of finally getting rid of undesirable ghosts, the sky being too far off for them to return again to earth. Special rites are performed for these souls, but the chief point is that they are in some way different from those accorded to ordinary people, and they are not connected with the sky afterworld as such.

*Connexion with the sun.* The association of the sun with the home of the dead in the sky is often more apparent than real, and sunset is found either to denote the horizon at which the soul enters to the underworld, or merely to signify west and to be connected with migration and the ancestral home (especially in South Polynesia). The belief in heavenly bodies as abodes of the dead occurs in such a very limited area as to suggest a special culture development belonging to some particular set of peoples.

The sky afterworld does not seem to be related to any special form of disposal of the body. Orientation towards the setting sun is connected with an underworld or the ancestral home in the west; while cremation is due either to Hindu influence or to special circumstances (cf. pp. 160-3).



## IX

### JOURNEY OF THE SOUL

THE journey of the dead man from the time of death until his arrival in the afterworld will now be considered, and may conveniently be divided into three parts :

1. *Temporary Sojourn of the Soul*, covering the transitional period between death and the departure of the soul at the death-feast.
2. *The Death-Feast and Final Departure Rites*, when the soul is formally dismissed.
3. *Directions and Provisions for the Journey*, including various rites intended to ensure a safe journey for the soul to the afterworld.

The practice of secondary burial is very widespread in Melanesia and Indonesia, especially in the latter, this term being taken to include all funeral rites where the final ceremony is postponed until the flesh has disappeared, the corpse being exposed, kept in the house or elsewhere, or temporally interred, in the meantime. The period between death and the performance of these final rites, that is while the corpse is decaying, is of a transitional nature, during which the soul remains near the body or in some special receptacle, and is characterized by various rites, chief among which are feeding and warming the dead man. The final burial marks the end of this stage, and is generally the occasion of the chief death-feast and the most elaborate rites, which centre round the last disposal of the bones and the final departure of the ghost. It must be remembered, however, that in reality these two periods are not always very clearly divided, the confusion in the primitive mind as to the whereabouts of the departed soul being always very great, so that many of the rites which properly belong to one stage find their way into the other ; and the tendency of the feasts, dances, &c., to multiply themselves indefinitely only serves further to obscure the nature of the underlying ritual or belief.

§ I. *Temporary sojourn of the soul.*

The period between death and the final rites is pre-eminently one of transition. In its psychological aspect, it is a time of abnormal conditions, when the conflicting emotions of personal grief, and of terror of death with its mysterious tabus, are at their height. There is always the possibility, too, that the dead man may only be in a trance, and that he will presently awaken. His presence is still felt among the survivors, who until they have become accustomed to his loss will constantly imagine him still among them, while the dreams and visions in which he appears, and which are very real to the native mind, do much to confirm these impressions. The chief mourners would be specially prone to such hallucinations after the compulsory abstinence from food imposed upon them by mourning customs. Meanwhile the ordinary routine of life is interrupted, friends arrive to view the body, and often open house must be kept for all who wish to come. The dead man's possessions, still highly tabu, are hung up round him, and serve to impress the visitors with the importance or wealth of his family; and while the nearest relations are undergoing a period of seclusion or keeping vigil by the corpse, the preparations are being made for the final funeral feast. The body itself is often exposed on a platform during this time, or temporarily interred, or perhaps set apart in a special room or house; for until the flesh has disappeared the man is not really dead, and his soul still hovers near the corpse. This identification of the blood and flesh with the man is not unnatural: blood is considered as the life among most primitive peoples, and with the decay of the flesh disappear the familiar features which distinguish the individual from his fellows. Thus attempts are sometimes made to preserve the whole body and so to keep the ghost among the survivors, as among the Tinguinanes of Luzon<sup>1</sup> (cf. pp. 67 and 168). In New Zealand a ceremony may be performed by the *tohungas* (priests) to restore the soul of a person just dead, but this rarely takes place, as the omens are seldom favourable!<sup>2</sup> That the dead man still requires food, warmth, and shelter, and perhaps still keeps a jealous eye on his possessions, is the most obvious explanation

<sup>1</sup> Sawyer (144), 279.<sup>2</sup> Goldie (47), 20.

of funeral-fires, food-offerings, and other practices, and as fear of the ghost and of his supposed supernatural powers is often more prominent than affection at this time, the ritual generally takes a more or less propitiatory or precautionary form. The dead man is angry at being dead, or does not realize it at first, and is jealous of the living and inclined to harm them,<sup>1</sup> and if his activities can be restricted, and he be confined to a special house or image, so much the better for every one concerned. The main feature of the beliefs during this transitional period is the temporary sojourn of the ghost near the body, and that provision must be made for his welfare during this time is the usual explanation of the various rites.

Even among peoples where secondary burial does not occur, the soul hardly ever departs at once, but lingers for a few days round the corpse, and during this time is fed and warmed, so that such instances (chiefly in Polynesia and the Malay Peninsula) will be included in this chapter. There is one notable exception, namely in Fiji, where the laying out begins several hours before death, the soul being supposed to have departed, although the 'empty shell' still eats, talks, &c.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this is connected with an old custom of premature burial noted by Fison among some tribes of Naviti Levu, where a dying man was placed in a vault and food and water lowered down the shaft, and when these remained untouched, the shaft was filled up with earth.<sup>3</sup>

The various kinds of ritual performed during this period will now be considered in detail.

(a) *Lying in state.* The custom of dressing-up the dead man, and hanging his possessions round him, so that he lies in state for a certain period before being exposed or preserved in the house or temporarily interred, is very common in Indonesia (the 'praal-bed' of Kruijt), in the islands of Torres Straits, and in British New Guinea, and for chiefs and important people in Polynesia. Thus a bed of state is prepared for the deceased among the Toradja of Celebes, a mat is spread out, friends hang up his possessions round it (which they take back afterwards), and the corpse lies here until its burial forty days later.<sup>4</sup>

Among the Koita of British New Guinea the dead man is

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (84), 241.

<sup>2</sup> Fison (40), 144.

<sup>3</sup> T. Williams (186), 161.

<sup>4</sup> Kruijt (83), 323-4.

exposed on the *bisa* (death-chair), with his broken property arranged round him,<sup>1</sup> and similar practices are found among the Roro,<sup>2</sup> and in Tube-Tube in S. Massim.<sup>3</sup> In the Marquesas the corpse was laid out on a bier in an open shed, where feasting and 'convivial indulgence' continued for two days, all enjoying themselves except those who mourned by the body.<sup>4</sup> (Compare also Samoa, Tahiti, Torres Straits Islands, Kayan, Dusun, Milano, &c.)<sup>5</sup> In Polynesia 'lying in state' has little or no connexion with the dead man's soul, but is simply an occasion for honouring the deceased, and entertaining the assembled relatives who have come to join in the mourning and bring presents, and the goods are probably hung round as a sign of wealth or for reasons of tabu. The connexion between these presents and the tabu of the dead man's property appears clearly in New Zealand. In Shortland's detailed description of a Maori funeral ceremony the body is seated and bound to a stake, while the mourners lament, dirges (*keka*) are sung, and the presents brought by the visitors are laid out:<sup>6</sup> these gifts are presented to the clan or relatives of the deceased.<sup>7</sup> That these presents have now become tabu by their contact with the dead man is well shown by Taylor. If a chief were very great, friends brought a 'covering' (i. e. a present) for him of dogs, garments, greenstone ornaments, canoes, &c. After the return from the funeral these were placed in water, formulae were said by the priest and the tabu removed, and they were then distributed among the relations.<sup>8</sup> This use of water is evidently to remove the contagion which would specially rest on anything connected with a dead person, and this tabu idea is very prominent in all Maori funerary ritual as in their other rites. Perhaps such practical reasons as display and tabu were originally the underlying motives of the Indonesian 'praal-bed'; the explanation that the ghost takes the souls of the things hung round to the other world, while the objects themselves are redistributed among the relations is obviously a later explanation,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Seligman (146), 160.

<sup>2</sup> Seligman (146), 274.

<sup>3</sup> Field (38), 440.

<sup>4</sup> Melville (111), 215.

<sup>5</sup> Turner (176), 146; Ellis (33), i. 244; Myers and Haddon (56), 138, 154; Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 32; Ling Roth (95), i. 145.

<sup>6</sup> Shortland (150), 43.

<sup>7</sup> Elsdon Best (9), 168-9.

<sup>8</sup> Taylor (166), 227-8.

<sup>9</sup> Kruijt (84) 243.



and a very good pretext for not parting with valuables (cf. p. 189).

(b) *Waiting for the death-feast.* As the ghost's final departure to the spirit-land takes place at the death-feast, the occasion of the greatest display of funeral gifts, some of which are generally buried with the remains, it is usually explained that the departed spirit has to wait in order to take these with him. Thus the Kayan-Bahau soul only starts out on its journey when the grave-gifts have been placed with the corpse; until then it stays in the neighbourhood,<sup>1</sup> and in Savu (West of Timor) the dead remain on the shore until after the death-feast, when they go to the neighbouring island of Sumba.<sup>2</sup> (Compare also Keisar Island, Buin of Bougainville, &c.<sup>3</sup>) During this waiting period the soul remains near the corpse, unless a special soul-house, image, or other receptacle has been prepared for him, such as the soul-houses which the Jakun of the Malay Peninsula set up by their graves.<sup>4</sup>

As a rule, moreover, the ghost's movements are strictly regulated during this time, and care is taken to provide a special image or house for him, which is put on or near the grave, or into which he is ritually conducted. This is specially the case in the Malay Archipelago, where images of this kind occur all over the South-east islands, in Dutch New Guinea, Celebes, Nias, &c. (cf. p. 64, &c., where details are given). In Nias, part of the soul (called *aloloa dōdō*) transforms itself into a small animal some twenty or thirty days (but Kruijt says three days<sup>5</sup>) after death, which is caught and conveyed ceremonially into a special statuette in the *fanau mōco-mōco* ceremony.<sup>6</sup> But besides this there is the true soul (*noso*) which only leaves the corpse when the latter is carried to its final resting-place, when it becomes a ghost (*bechu zi mâte*), and great precautions are taken to prevent it leaving the body before the funeral ceremonies are completed, lest it annoy the living.<sup>7</sup> Among the Koita of British New Guinea a curious object called the *tobi* is made, consisting of broken spears thrust into the ground, round which other articles of property (also broken) are wrapped and tied, which

<sup>1</sup> Nieuwenhuis (122), i. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 342.

<sup>3</sup> Riedel (136), 421; Thurnwald (171), iii. 23-4.

<sup>4</sup> Martin (109), 927-31.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (83), 326.

<sup>6</sup> Modigliani (113), 293-5.

<sup>7</sup> Modigliani (113), 291-2; de Zwaan (196), 260.

is set up beside the *bisa* (death-chair) on which the dead man is exposed. At the end of the final feast (*ita*) which is held six months later, when the *bisa* is burnt and the widow relieved of her mourning, a speech is made of this kind: 'We have been eating for and in remembrance of the dead, now let us worry no more about him since he has ceased from among us.' *Tobi* is then cast out into the bush.<sup>1</sup> Whether the *tobi* is only a peculiar form of grave-furniture, or another kind of temporary dwelling for the ghost, or both, it is evidently intimately connected with the presence of the dead man during this transitional period, and its functions are completed when he departs at the final funeral ceremony.

Food placed in or near the grave is generally intended for the soul during its temporary sojourn, and this provision for the ghost is specially prominent in the south-east islands of the Malay Archipelago, and in the Torres Straits Islands. In the former the ghost almost invariably lingers for a while beside the body, sometimes in a special image, and enjoys the food laid near or interred with the dead man,<sup>2</sup> offerings sometimes being brought at intervals, as in Buru and Aru.<sup>3</sup> In the Torres Straits Islands food is placed round the platform (*paier*) on which the corpse is exposed to feed the soul (*mari*), which ate it at night-time, a noise being made at night by disguised men to deceive the women; <sup>4</sup> the soul is believed to haunt its former abode for two or three months after death, and to feed on these offerings, until it is driven away at the final feast and becomes a true ghost (*markai*).<sup>5</sup> The food placed on the grave by the Jakun tribes of the Malay Peninsula embodies the same idea, being intended for the grave-ghost for whom fires are lighted and soul-houses set up (cf. p. 179).

This distinction between food (which is directly intended for the ghost's immediate consumption) and other grave-gifts tends to disappear among the peoples of Borneo, Nias, and Celebes, where it is merely included in the general funeral-offering and interpreted accordingly. A further extension, however, occurs

<sup>1</sup> Seligman (146), 160-1, 165-6.

<sup>2</sup> Forbes (41), 324; Kruijt (83), 342; Riedel (136), 144, 163, 267, 316, 375, 394-5, 410-11, 420-1.

<sup>3</sup> Forbes (41), 405; Riedel (136), 267.

<sup>4</sup> Myers and Haddon (56), 135-6; Haddon (53), 402, 420-1.

<sup>5</sup> Haddon (56), 252; id. (53), 317; Myers and Haddon (56), 148.

among the Sea-Dyaks, developing into a regular 'feast of the dead' to which departed souls return to receive the food ritually conveyed to them by the magician, and upon which they depend for their continued existence<sup>1</sup> (cf. p. 61): this marks the beginning of the supposed dependence of the dead upon the ritual performed by the living, which has become such an abuse in higher religions.

Occasionally the ghost returns specially for the death-feast, when the final rites are performed and he can depart for good. Thus at the death-feast in Luang (South-east Malay Archipelago) an old man calls back the soul from the island afterworld *Metrialam* to receive a canoe full of food which is buried in a pit near the grave on this occasion. (Those lately dead are also summoned to the feast.) After this the soul returns to *Metrialam* taking the goods with him, the canoe conveying them over easily to the spirit-land.<sup>2</sup> This function of the canoe is probably a reinterpretation of what was at first only an ordinary grave-gift for use in the hereafter. Another way of summoning the ghost is the special beating of drums at the death-feast, as is done, for instance, by the Toradja.<sup>3</sup> It is very important that the ghost should be present at the final death-feast, if at no other time, not only that he may see that the rites have been duly performed and so may not bear malice against the living, but also that he may be duly dismissed to his future abode.

(c) *Funeral fires.* The lighting of fires during the transition-period is the commonest way (except feeding) of providing for the ghost's needs, and though it seems highly probable that this custom originated for quite other reasons, such as keeping off animals or warming the grave-attendants who so often have to sleep by the body (cf. pp. 104-5), its interpretation as being to warm the ghost is very widespread. Among the Koita of British New Guinea fires were lighted on and round the grave for the first four nights after burial, and the widow and near relatives slept round it: this is said to be done as a sign of sympathy with the widow left alone.<sup>4</sup> The Roro, however, among whom a relation lights a fire on the grave at night for a month or two after burial, state that this is to keep the ghost warm,<sup>5</sup> a very natural explanation,

<sup>1</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 208, 210.

<sup>2</sup> Riedel (136), 316, 329.

<sup>3</sup> Kruijt (83), 343.

<sup>4</sup> Seligman (146), 161-2.

<sup>5</sup> Seligman (146), 275.

arising no doubt from the transference of the coldness of the corpse to the soul hovering near it (cf. p. 136). A similar explanation is given by the Kiwai of the Fly River Estuary,<sup>1</sup> in Mabuiag (Torres Straits Islands),<sup>2</sup> and also in the Northern D'Entrecasteaux, where the grave is always watched for several days to prevent outrage.<sup>3</sup> At Tube-Tube (Slade Island in South Massim) any practical reason for the fire has disappeared, and it is kept burning by the grave-diggers in order that the spirit, which is very cold, may get warm, when it rises from the grave; otherwise it would be unable to undertake the long journey to the afterworld beyond the sea, the route to which is here specially well-defined. The kindling of the fire is called the 'rising of the spirit from the grave' preparatory to this journey, and is kept up until the exhumation death-feast after the flesh has decayed, when it is allowed to burn out, as the spirit is now safe in the spirit-land and has no further need of it.<sup>4</sup> These examples from British New Guinea show how rites, which originally had a purely practical origin connected with the custom of watching by the corpse, may be reinterpreted as having a connexion with the welfare of the ghost, leading to elaboration of theories of a journey to the afterworld, &c., which presently form an important part of eschatological belief. Again among the Sulka of the Gazelle Peninsula the relations sleep by the corpse, and a fire is kept burning,<sup>5</sup> while a similar instance comes from the Duke of York Island.<sup>6</sup> Here again there seems to be a connexion between the fires and the practice of sleeping on the grave, though in this case this takes place after the final burial, possibly a later alteration, when the custom of 'conveying the soul' by the grave-sleepers (cf. p. 104) had arisen. Similar reasons for funeral-fires are frequently given, as for example in Aneiteum (New Hebrides), and among the Jakun tribes of the Malay Peninsula, the Sea-Dyaks of Borneo, &c.<sup>7</sup> We have only one instance from Polynesia, and that is also connected with watching by the grave. On the evening after the burial of any important chief in Samoa, his friends kindled a number of fires near the grave, and sat up

<sup>1</sup> Chalmers (19), 120; Beaver (7), 176; Landtmann (89), 302.

<sup>2</sup> Haddon (53), 402. <sup>3</sup> Jenness and Ballantyne (75), 120.

<sup>4</sup> Field (38), 442-3. <sup>5</sup> Parkinson (123), 185. <sup>6</sup> G. Brown (15), 390.

<sup>7</sup> G. Brown (15), 396; Borie (14), 82; Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 110, &c.; Newbold (120), ii. 410; Martin (109), 931; Gomes (48), 139.



and kept them burning until morning, this being sometimes continued for ten days after the funeral: it was also done before burial. Fires were also kept burning all night by the relations in the house where the corpse lay, and the night after burial a fire was kept blazing in the house, the space between it and the grave being cleared, so that a stream of light went forth to the grave. 'The account the Samoans give of it is, that it was merely a light burning in honour of the departed, and a mark of tender regard.'<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps one of the chief practical uses of the funeral-fire was to hasten the dissolution of the corpse, or in some places to dry it up into a sort of mummy: hence the frequent occurrence of fires beside the platform or in the house where the corpse is exposed, or beside the grave in those places where interment has superseded exposure. In San Cristoval and Ysabel (Solomon Islands) a chief is interred with his head near the surface, over which a fire is kept burning, so that the skull may be taken up for preservation in the house of the man who succeeds to power or in the canoe-house,<sup>2</sup> and no other reason is given for this practice, while in Gaua in Santa Maria (Banks Islands) the body is definitely dried between two fires until the skin and bone only are left, just as in Espiritu Santo and Ambryn a chief's body is dried in the sun or on a raised platform over a fire.<sup>3</sup> The lighting of fires beneath the exposed corpse is also fairly widespread (cf. distribution on pp. 167-8).

A fire is also considered to be a very effective way of 'barring the ghost', and would thus find favour as an important part of the general ceremonies, especially during the earlier period while the soul is still hovering round his body. Thus the Nicobarese, who show great dread of the ghost of the deceased during the funeral rites, leave a dead or dying man in the death-house, and bar themselves into their own houses for a time, fires being kept burning before the doors.<sup>4</sup>

Thus there seems little doubt that fires originally intended for purely practical purposes such as drying the corpse or warming or protecting the grave-watchers, or for purificatory reasons connected with tabu, have been re-explained as being

<sup>1</sup> Turner (176), 149.

<sup>2</sup> Codrington (22), 257; Penny (125), 68.

<sup>3</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 265-6; Hagen and Pineau (58), 332; Lamb (86), 118.

<sup>4</sup> Kloss (80), 303.

for the welfare of the ghost, or to keep him from troubling the living, until their real meaning has been so obscured that they have merely a ritual significance: at the same time this interpretation adds realistic colour to the beliefs about the nature and activities of the soul after death, which develop gradually, and become welded into a more or less connected whole.

## § 2. *Death-Feast and Final Rites.*

At the death-feast the attitude towards the dead man changes. The first acute grief is over, and there is a desire to return to normal life, while the survivors have grown used to the dead man's absence. There is not the same feeling towards the dead bones, when the flesh that gave the man his individuality has disappeared; he is most certainly dead now, and if he still remains with the living, it is rather as a stranger in their midst, whose mysterious powers make him an object of vague fear and suspicion. Moreover, the memory of the dead man is slowly beginning to fade, and, as he appears less often in dreams, it is thought that perhaps he has already departed. If this can be ensured by any ritual means, so much the better, if only for the peace of mind of the survivors, and if the ghost receives a good funeral (no doubt one of his ambitions when alive) he will depart in peace, and not return to annoy the living. Thus in the display of the final funeral ceremonies an outlet is found for both fear and affection, the possible anger of the ghost is appeased, and the conscience is satisfied by a feeling of a duty well performed. From a practical point of view it is now time to discard the irksome mourning customs which prevent a return to normal ways, and, as the flesh has gone, the bones must be bestowed in their last resting-place, whether this be a cave, a grave, the ghost-house, or the ancestral hearth. And as the bones now receive their last attentions, so the ghost has his final funeral ritual and offerings, after which he sets out for the other world, taking with him the gifts at the feast for his admission to the spirit-land, or for use in his new life.

(a) *Disappearance of the flesh.* There seems no doubt that the final funeral rites are intended to coincide with the disappearance of the flesh, and that it is only when the smell ceases that the

man is really dead.<sup>1</sup> In Navitilevu in Fiji this belief seems to be the reason for the concealment of a chief's death, the latter being secretly buried, and sometimes impersonated by a headman. This prevents the state of anarchy which would otherwise ensue in the interval before the authority is handed over to his successor, which cannot happen until decomposition has made considerable progress, and the dead man is fairly done with.<sup>2</sup> The true funeral-feast in the Kandass District of South New Ireland takes place when decay is complete, or as the native expresses it, when 'he stink finish';<sup>3</sup> and the moment of the soul's departure in Eddystone Island is signified by the burning of baskets, for as the body rots so do the baskets in the fire.<sup>4</sup> This idea is especially prominent in Indonesia.

As long as the body stinks it is still a man, and, consequently, with the development of ideas about the afterlife of the ghost, we find the notion that he will not be admitted to the land of souls until there is nothing left of his corpse but dry bones. Thus the Toradja tell of a man who descends to Hades (*sic*) where the ghosts first become aware of him by the smell—'it stinks, there is a man among us';<sup>5</sup> and among the Galelorese of Halmahera in the Moluccas stories are told of men who visit the dwellings of celestial beings and souls, and who are immediately recognized by their smell; and of a soul being pushed out of the ghost-house by the other ghosts because it still stinks, i. e. is too lately dead, the corpse not being yet decayed.<sup>6</sup> This is borne out by the fact that the final feast never takes place until the flesh has disappeared. According to Wilken, the date of the death-feast, after which the ghost departs, depends on when the gifts for the feast can be got together,<sup>7</sup> and no doubt in practice this is so, especially among those peoples where the funeral offerings have assumed enormous dimensions. In Timor the death-feast of a man of rank with a large number of relations who have to be entertained during the ceremonies often reduces the family to poverty, and the funeral has sometimes to be delayed for months or years before enough can be provided, and the knowledge of 'who is who' among the remains awaiting burial

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 328; id. (84), 244.

<sup>2</sup> Fison (40), 140-1.

<sup>3</sup> Stephan and Graebner (163), 117.

<sup>4</sup> Hocart (200), 93.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (83), 328.

<sup>6</sup> Kruijt (83), 330.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (83), 328.

is handed down from each inheritor of the burial obligation to his heir.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes this is simplified by having one death-feast at stated periods for all who have lately died, as among the Tobelorese of Halmahera (Moluccas) where it takes place every four or five years for all the dead during that time,<sup>2</sup> or the annual death-feast of the Olo Maanjam of Borneo.<sup>3</sup> But this would seem to be a later development, and often leads to neglect of the final burial altogether, except for the very rich and important, as among the Toba-Battak, where only the corpses of important people are exhumed, because the feast (*turun*) is very costly.<sup>4</sup>

Everywhere, during the transition period, the chief pre-occupation is to get rid of the flesh. Among the Milano of Borneo the corpse is elaborately drained by means of bamboo tubes,<sup>5</sup> and the same thing is done in New Britain and the Duke of York Island,<sup>6</sup> the process being assisted by dashing sea-water into the canoe in which the body lies. In Saa (Solomon Islands) water was poured over the corpse until the flesh was consumed, when the skull was taken, and Codrington says that this is probably the effect of the belief that the ghost is weak while the corpse still smells, while 'the *lio'a* (= *tindalo* or ghost) of the dead man sunk in the sea, burnt, enclosed in a case, or rapidly denuded of flesh, is active and available at once'.<sup>7</sup> Attempts to remove the flesh artificially are also made by the Torres Straits Islanders,<sup>8</sup> the South Tetoen of Central Timor,<sup>9</sup> the Moanus of the Admiralty Islands,<sup>10</sup> &c. (cf. p. 167, &c.).

The actual ceremony of final burial has three main characteristics: (a) general feast and display of funeral gifts, often accompanied by dancing, &c., which the relations especially attend, (b) various rites of farewell to the ghost, providing him with food, and so forth, and finally preventing his return, (c) collection and disposal of the bones.

(b) *Death-feast*. In Indonesia the final feast is generally very elaborate, especially in Borneo, Celebes, the South-east Islands of the Archipelago, among the Papuans of Dutch New Guinea,

<sup>1</sup> Forbes (41), 435, 436.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 333.

<sup>3</sup> Laurence and Hewitt (91), 404; Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Pfeil (129), 79; Danks (28), 356; G. Brown (15), 389.

<sup>5</sup> Codrington, (22) 263.

<sup>6</sup> Kruijt (83), 330, 331.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (83), 341.

<sup>8</sup> Kruijt (83), 332.

<sup>9</sup> Myers and Haddon (56), 136.

<sup>10</sup> Parkinson (123), 404-5.



and the Battak of Sumatra. The Papuans of Te Rhoon have a very typical death-feast, the preparation for which lasts for months. A canoe laden with food is brought from each house, the grave is opened, and the arm-bone washed and hidden until the evening; then the remains are re-wrapped and carried round in a dance, with feasting and other ceremonies. The next day a sort of hut is made in the sea on a projecting rock (the ghost-house is generally used for this purpose among other peoples); the arm-bone is put in a wooden box, and the rest of the remains are put in the hut. Then follows more dancing, this time to drive away the ghost, in which priests and priestesses take part, the dancers whirling quicker and quicker until at last they turn and rush back to the village.<sup>1</sup> In Celebes the Toradja, the Tolampu on the Gulf of Tomini, and the Tolambatu of Rauta have similar rites, of a rather more elaborate nature, with the spirit-house (*lobo*) as their centre<sup>2</sup> (cf. pp. 66-7). In Borneo the Olo Ngadjoe death-feast (*tiwah*) lasts for several days. A large house (*balai*) is erected, into which the coffin is brought, and treasure laid upon it; images of gods (*sic*) are carved out, and a buffalo is caught. On the first day the soul is 'conducted to the spirit-land' (*magah-liah* ceremony) by the priest (cf. p. 103), and on the next two days the coffin is taken to the mausoleum (*sandong*), generally some hours' journey away, while the priestesses (*b'lian*) dance and ask the souls of those already in the *sandong* to receive this one. During this evening and all through the night the priest (*busir*) and priestesses conduct the soul (their 'soul-substance' is supposed to accompany him), and also the souls of the buffalo, pigs, food, &c., of the death-feast to the spirit-land, and great sacrifices are made. On the last day large wooden images are constructed, and a great feast takes place in the evening, when no doubt the 'soul-less' funeral offerings are eaten, after which the mourning ends.<sup>3</sup>

In Melanesia secondary burial is also very widespread, especially in the Torres Straits Islands and British New Guinea, and among the peoples of New Britain and the Siara and Kandass districts of New Ireland; but in Polynesia it is found less frequently, its place being taken by the embalming of the chiefs,

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 339-40.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 343-4; Grubauer (49), 441-2.

<sup>3</sup> Kruijt (83), 345-6; id. (84), 244.

they being the only people who matter. However Stair found it in Samoa as an occasional practice,<sup>1</sup> and it occurs in the Marquesas<sup>2</sup> and in Tongarewa and Omuka (Penrhyn Islands).<sup>3</sup> In New Zealand, on the other hand, it was very important and highly developed (though in recent times sometimes neglected altogether), the exhumation and 'scraping of the bones' (*ha-hunga*) being an occasion for a general gathering of all the relations, the bringing of presents, feasting, &c.<sup>4</sup>

(c) *The dismissal of the ghost.* The dismissal of the ghost is accomplished in many and various ways, now force and now persuasion playing the chief rôle. The Papuans drive out the dead man by their bone-dance (cf. p. 100), and the Banks Islanders chase him away with conch-shells and bull-roarers,<sup>5</sup> while the Olo Ngadjoe conduct him carefully to the spirit-land with elaborate ritual.<sup>6</sup> The death-feast is everywhere the occasion for presenting the final gifts for the journey, or for admission to the afterworld, and the ceasing of the food or fires at the grave. In the Sunda Straits guides are summoned to take the soul,<sup>7</sup> and in the Luang Sermata Group (East of Timor) souls are specially recalled to receive the gifts made at the death-feast;<sup>8</sup> in Savu<sup>9</sup> (West of Timor) and among the Kayans of Borneo,<sup>10</sup> it is definitely stated (and in most other places implied) that the ghost now takes its departure. These rites connected with the safe journey of the soul and its admission to the afterworld will be considered in detail later on (cf. pp. 103, 125, &c.).

During the death-feast various ceremonies for preventing the ghost's return are performed, such as orientating the remains away from the village (Karo-Battak), throwing ashes to blind the ghost (Toradja, Battak, Nias, Ceram, &c.), bathing, making a noise (Minahassa, Dutch New Guinea, Battak, &c.),<sup>11</sup> 'barring the ghost' by fire and water (Nicobars, Fiji, &c.)<sup>12</sup> and so forth. Where fear of the ghost is very prominent, there is a tendency to explain every detail of the ritual as being a means to prevent his

<sup>1</sup> Stair (161), 178, 179.

<sup>2</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 253; Bässler (5), 225.

<sup>3</sup> Lamont (87), 209; Meinicke (112), ii. 263.

<sup>4</sup> Taylor (166), 219-20; Shortland (140), 147-9; Elsdon Best (9), 188, 211-14.

<sup>5</sup> Codrington (22), 267.

<sup>6</sup> Kruijt (83), 345-6.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (84), 244.

<sup>8</sup> Riedel (136), 316, 329.

<sup>9</sup> Kruijt (83), 342.

<sup>10</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 33-4.

<sup>11</sup> Kruijt (84), 241.

<sup>12</sup> T. Williams (186), 168; Kloss (80), 303-5; Solomon (158), 228.

return, though often attention is focused upon the actual destination of the ghost, and the rites are interpreted accordingly. Thus the beating of drums in the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain is to announce to the other ghosts the arrival of a rich man,<sup>1</sup> and the funeral-fires are to warm the soul for its journey in Tube-Tube (South Massim)<sup>2</sup> or for its use in the spirit-land, among the Sea-Dyaks<sup>3</sup> (cf. pp. 94-6). The Dusun destroy the funeral bier, and in Minahassa the corpse is carried out through a hole in the floor, to prevent the ghost's return.<sup>4</sup> But many of these so-called 'barring-out' ceremonies are performed also during the transition period, and this explanation of them seems to be due to the very general fear of the uncanny—of ghosts in general, and of a newly made ghost in particular. At the death-feast the emotions of the assembled crowd find their outlet in feasting, dancing, and various ceremonies, and though the main form of these is determined by the occasion, many of the minor details are common to all festivals; although in this instance they may easily be interpreted as being connected with the dismissal of the ghost, or his ultimate fate.

(d) *Final disposal of the remains.* The last act of the death-feast ceremony is the final disposal of the remains. In Indonesia they are generally put in a cave, which seems to have been the older custom (Toradja, &c., Cerani, Aru, Baba, Timorlaut, Dusun of Tabalong, Papuans of West Coast of Dutch New Guinea, &c.) or interred (Battak, Niassers, Timor, various islands in the south-east of the Malay Archipelago, Moluccas, Nicobars, &c.), and among the Kayans and Dyaks of Borneo are placed in a mausoleum. The more primitive peoples preserve the remains (cf. p. 168) in the house (some Papuans of Dutch New Guinea, the Mountain Toradja, the Mountain Alferu of Ceram) or distribute them among the relations (Alferu of Tombuku in Celebes, Andamanese, Papuans of Astrolabe Bay in ex-German New Guinea). In Melanesia interment is generally practised, though cave-burial is found in the Banks Islands, and in the Solomon Islands and among some Huon Gulf tribes (ex-German New Guinea) the skulls are preserved in the ghost-house. The Sulka of New Britain keep them in the house, and the

<sup>1</sup> Burger (17), 33.

<sup>2</sup> Gomes (48), 139.

<sup>3</sup> Field (38), 442-3.

<sup>4</sup> Evans (34), 380; Hickson (66), 297.

Moanos of the Admiralty Islands and the Pitilu of the Western Admiralty Islands distribute the bones among relations. In New Zealand caves were formerly the most usual final burial-place, though in recent times the dead were generally interred in the *wahi tapu*.<sup>1</sup>

### § 3. *Directions and Provisions for the Journey.*

(a) *Directions and ritual conducting.* It is very important that the ghost shall safely reach his final home, both for his sake and for the sake of those who remain behind, to whom he can make himself very unpleasant if suffered to roam at large. Indeed, fear of the dead is so strong that in spite of the most elaborate precautions to prevent his return, and although the dangers of the journey, and still more the difficulties for securing admission to the afterworld are so great, and need so much assistance from the living before they can be overcome, yet the ghost constantly returns thence, whether or not he is wanted by the survivors. Primitive man does not enquire how this can happen, but merely feels that it is so.

In Indonesia the more primitive peoples are content to drive or dance away the ghost, as among the Papuans, &c. But in Borneo and among the more advanced tribes of Celebes, where the spirit-land is a long way off, directions are given to the deceased as to the route to be followed, and often he is ritually conducted thither. Thus the Kayans and Dusun instruct the dead man how to find his way to the other world, and send messages and cigarettes by him to the other ghosts; <sup>2</sup> while among the Olo Ngadjoe and Olo Maanjam elaborate litanies are performed by the priests, the journey to the afterworld is minutely described, and the 'soul-substance' of the priests is supposed to accompany the departed soul to its destination <sup>3</sup> (cf. p. 100). The same thing takes place in Minahassa, <sup>4</sup> and among the Toradja, <sup>5</sup> where litanies are also sung for this purpose by the priests. As we have seen elsewhere (cf. p. 72, &c.), this special development of descriptive litanies seems to be partially

<sup>1</sup> Cowan (24), 348.—In all these cases secondary burial is, or was formerly, practised.

<sup>2</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 32; Ling Roth (95), i. 143-4, quoting Hose.

<sup>3</sup> Kruijt (83), 344-7; id. (84), 244.

<sup>4</sup> Hickson (66), 298.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (83), 344.



due to migration, and a reminiscence of a time when the corpse was taken back to the tribal burial-place, which has now become incorporated in the eschatological beliefs in the form of a journey made by the soul to the spirit-land.

(b) *Sleeping with the corpse.* In Melanesia we find a rather different mode of conducting the dead man, the soul being accompanied by the souls of those who sleep beside the body. The Torres Straits Islands rites, where messages are sent by the deceased, and the soul is supposed to be carried off by a masked guide during the elaborate pantomimic dances at the funeral,<sup>1</sup> embody a different idea from that of the Indonesian ceremonies; for the masked dancer represents a ghost fetching the newly dead, not one of the survivors seeing him safely to the spirit-land.

Among the Sulka of the Gazelle Peninsula, two men sleep by the corpse during the first night after death, and their souls accompany his to *matana nion*. These men describe their journey afterwards<sup>2</sup> to show that they have really been there; it would therefore seem that certain conceptions of the after-life may have had their origin in some practice of this kind, as it is easy to imagine how eschatological beliefs might develop along these lines, gradually gaining in distinctness and wealth of detail, especially as sleeping by the dead is a fairly common custom in Melanesia. Thus it also occurs among other peoples in the Gazelle Peninsula and in Duke of York Island;<sup>3</sup> and in British New Guinea the widow or near relations keep vigil by the grave, in the Northern D'Entrecasteaux,<sup>4</sup> in Murua<sup>5</sup> (North Massim), Tube-Tube and Bartle Bay<sup>6</sup> (South Massim), and on the mainland among the Koita,<sup>7</sup> Mekeo,<sup>8</sup> Bulaa and Babaka,<sup>9</sup> &c. of Hood Point, and Mafulu.<sup>10</sup> A similar custom prevails among the Sialum, Kai, Jabim, Bukaua and other tribes from Huon Gulf to Waria,<sup>11</sup> in ex-German New Guinea. Some distinction must be made, however, between the grave-diggers who sleep on the

<sup>1</sup> Myers and Haddon (56), 130, 132.

<sup>2</sup> G. Brown (15), 193-4; Parkinson (123), 185.

<sup>3</sup> Burger (17), 32; Brown (15), 390; Kleintitschen (79), 222.

<sup>4</sup> Jenness and Ballantyne (75), 120.

<sup>5</sup> Seligman (146), 728.

<sup>6</sup> Seligman (146), 614, 617.

<sup>7</sup> Seligman (146), 161-2.

<sup>8</sup> Williamson (188), 288.

<sup>9</sup> Guise (50), 210.

<sup>10</sup> Williamson (189), 278; id. (187), 261-2.

<sup>11</sup> Neuhauss (119), i. 167-8; Keysser (77), iii. 83; Zahn (195), iii. 321; Lehner (93), iii. 473.

grave (Northern D'Entrecasteaux, South Massim, Koita, and Mafulu), probably originally to protect the body (cf. p. 94), and the vigil of the widow or widower in all the other cases, especially as the widow has to watch without sleeping, as in Murua. The latter practice is chiefly due to tabu, and often lasts for months, and may in some instances be a reminiscence of former human sacrifice (cf. pp. 203-4). Landtmann draws attention to the great influence of dreams on the Kiwai of the Fly River Estuary in this connexion. He says, 'Undoubtedly dreams have largely contributed in supplying the natives with ideas about *Adiri* (i. e. the island afterworld) and life after death. A great number of dreams collected by me among the Kiwai people tell of wanderings to *Adiri* or of meetings with spirits of dead men, and as dreams are believed to describe the real things which the soul sees while roaming about outside the body, we understand that they must greatly influence the imagination of the people.'<sup>1</sup>

Probably sleeping by the grave was originally in order to keep off wild animals or human enemies, or because the watching relatives were themselves tabu through their contact with death. Professor Seligman says that in Bartle Bay (South Massim) people used to watch by some graves to prevent pigs from disturbing them,<sup>2</sup> and in Tube-Tube (Slade Island) a roughly built house is erected over the grave, the chief object of which is to protect it from pigs and dogs, and to prevent the rain from washing away the covering earth.<sup>3</sup> A similar reason for sleeping on the grave is given by the Coast People of the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain.<sup>4</sup> These practical dangers are easily supplemented by imaginery ones connected with spirits, like the female ghosts (*mulukuausi*) of the Trobriand Islands (North Massim), who prey on the unprotected body, and to guard against whom a vigil was (formerly) kept by the grave.<sup>5</sup> It is easy to see how the dreams of these watchers—most of whom would be in a very susceptible condition after the excitement of the funeral, and the rigours of fasting, &c.—would be interpreted, as among the Sulka, as having a definite effect on the welfare of the ghost. The development of such ideas is well shown in Fiji. At Nairai

<sup>1</sup> Landtmann (88), 71; cf. also Lyons (199), 430.

<sup>2</sup> Seligman (146), 617.

<sup>3</sup> Field (38), 442.

<sup>4</sup> Kleintitschen (79), 222.

<sup>5</sup> Malinowski (105), 357.

(Central Fiji) there was a ceremony called *vakandrōndrō* ('causing to flow'), which took place immediately after the burial of a young unmarried chief or unmarried girl of high rank. Youths and girls sleep on either side of the house, and fall into a deep sleep, and their souls leave their bodies in a 'flowing' motion. Presently they see the soul of the dead chief on his way to *Mbulu*, watch him arrive at the leaping-off place *Naithombothombo*, and see the spirit of a dead lady rise and greet him, and both leap in together. Then they know that he has safely passed *Nangga-nangga* (the guardian) and other dangers.<sup>1</sup> Another similar Fijian custom occurs among the Nakelo tribe on the banks of the Wainimbokási River. On the death of a king (*Tui*), when the corpse is laid out, the elders fan it and call the soul; then, holding fans about two feet above the ground as a shelter for the spirit, they conduct it to the river-bank. The mythical ferryman *Themba* is summoned, and the people wait until they see a wave rolling in, which they say is caused by the approach of his invisible canoe. Then they avert their faces and flee, for they may not look upon the embarkation. As the soul has now been safely conducted, the body is disposed of with little ceremony in a deep grave.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, the resemblance between this Melanesian method of conducting the soul by grave-sleepers and the Indonesian ritual conducting by magicians is really closer than appears at first sight. The 'soul-substance' of the Olo Ngadjoe magicians is supposed to accompany the soul to its destination during the conducting litany,<sup>2</sup> the magicians of the Berawan of the Baram District (Borneo) are said to have themselves visited the 'Fields of the Dead'<sup>3</sup> (no doubt in trance); and among the Galelorese of Halmahera the ghosts are invited to the death-feast by the magician, who is in a hypnotic state,<sup>4</sup> and is probably supposed to send his soul to fetch them, as among their neighbours the Tobelorese the priests protect the soul upon its journey by the help of their so-called 'guardian spirits'.<sup>5</sup> As it is also customary among the Galelorese to watch the corpse during its exposure before burial,<sup>6</sup> it seems possible that the functions of the grave-sleeper have been taken over by the magician, who

<sup>1</sup> Fison (40), 146-7.

<sup>4</sup> Riedel (135), 84.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (84), 244.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (83), 342.

<sup>3</sup> Furness (43), 62.

<sup>6</sup> Riedel (135), 83.

now has the monopoly of conducting the soul (the watchers by the corpse being forbidden to sleep), and has transformed it into a ritual performance, without which the dead man cannot accomplish his journey to the afterworld.

(c) *Grave-orations and 'catching the spirit'*. In Polynesia the recitations at the grave take the form of extolling the dead man, as at the burial of chiefs in Hawaii<sup>1</sup> and Tahiti,<sup>2</sup> or in formally bidding him depart to the afterworld (Tahiti, Samoa, Maori, &c.).<sup>3</sup> In Tahiti this dismissal is considered a very important part of the funeral ceremony, and chiefs and *Areois* are conducted by a special priest to *Rohuto noanoa* on payment of sums of money, as otherwise they would go to *Po*; <sup>4</sup> perhaps this is a development of the grave recitations, for which a special meaning has been introduced by the priests. But the Polynesians do not concern themselves overmuch with the fate of the dead, so that we should not expect much provision for their welfare on the journey to the afterworld. In New Zealand the soul is ritually conducted in a *karakia* (magical chant) at the *hahunga*\* ceremony (scraping of the bones),<sup>5</sup> and similar ritual conducting is performed by the priests in the North Solomon Islands<sup>6</sup> (i. e. Nuguria, Tauu, and Nukumanu).

Among the Taranaki natives of New Zealand, where the souls of the dead remain in the *wahi tapu*, special rites are performed to induce ghosts to enter it and stay there, especially those of chiefs who have been killed and eaten in battle,<sup>7</sup> and who, no doubt, would be particularly revengeful. This ceremonial 'catching the spirit' after a violent death is general in New Zealand,<sup>8</sup> and also occurs in Samoa. The spirit of the unburied Samoan haunted the living, saying 'Oh, how cold, how cold!' so an attempt was made to obtain his soul in some tangible transmigrated form. A cloth was spread out near the place where the dead man fell, or on the beach where he had been

\* According to Elsdon Best and Shortland this takes place at first burial.<sup>1</sup> Probably at first this was a ritual conducting of the soul to its final resting-place, and when the number of *karakia* increased, and their meaning became obscured, it was also performed at the first burial without regard to its true significance.

<sup>1</sup> Elsdon Best (9), 165; Shortland (150), 43-4.

<sup>1</sup> Ellis (32), 149.

<sup>2</sup> Ellis (33), i. 411.

<sup>3</sup> Stair (161), 183.

<sup>4</sup> Ellis (33), i. 245, 403-4.

<sup>5</sup> Taylor (166), 220.

<sup>6</sup> Parkinson (123), 530-1.

<sup>7</sup> Goldie (47), 24-5.

<sup>8</sup> Taylor (166), 221.



drowned, and the relations sat round, addressing some god of the family thus, 'Oh, be kind to us; let us obtain without difficulty the spirit of the young man!' The first thing, ant, butterfly, or grasshopper, that happened to alight was supposed to be the spirit, and was carefully wrapped up and buried in lieu of the corpse itself.<sup>1</sup> In Niue an identical ceremony is performed, though it does not seem to be confined to violent deaths;<sup>2</sup> but perhaps this is because its real significance has been forgotten. The same idea is found in South Nias, where the souls of the drowned are brought to land, and thus safely to the afterworld, by means of a ceremony performed by the priest; and all over Indonesia care is taken to bring back the spirit of a man who has died away from home by bringing his skull or a doll to represent him at the funeral ceremonies, or even a piece of his clothes, or some earth from the place where he died (Papuan, Galelorese of Halmahera,<sup>3</sup> Angholo,<sup>4</sup> &c.). The reason why the dead man must be buried in his own country is so that he may have the souls of the departed of his own tribe for companions.<sup>5</sup>

The idea that the ghost is still present immediately after death rests on a psychological basis, often assisted by dreams and tricks of memory, and is further supported by the identification of the flesh and blood with the life of the man, so that until the flesh has disappeared he is not really dead, and the ghost cannot have departed. Rites at first performed from other motives, such as the 'praal-bed' for reasons of tabu or display, the funeral fires for the protection or comfort of the grave-watchers, or to assist in the desiccation of the body or for purificatory reasons, are interpreted as affecting the welfare of the ghost, and are elaborated with this end in view, culminating in the death-feast. The final rites of secondary burial end the transition period of general mourning, and inaugurate the return to normal life. The flesh has disappeared, the bones are finally disposed of, and the ghost is supposed to have departed. Dislike of the abnormal again gains the upper hand, and dread of the ghost's return and means of preventing it, whether by expulsory ceremonies or by provision for his welfare in the afterworld, become the most prominent features of the rites. As these

<sup>1</sup> Turner (176), 150-1; Stair (161), 184.

<sup>2</sup> Percy Smith (156), 206.

<sup>4</sup> Kruijt (83), 327.

<sup>3</sup> Kruijt (83), 321, 326.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (84), 243.

become fixed by tradition, the whole ritual is considered as a necessary part of the funeral ceremonies ; to each detail comes to be attributed a definite function as regards the afterlife, until all the ghost's movements, from his departure from the body until his safe arrival in the spirit-land, become dependent on their proper performance. Hence the development of the idea of the soul's journey to the home of the dead, and of the ritual which assists him thither.

There are three distinct ways of conducting the soul to the afterworld.

(a) *Directions and ritual conducting.* This is probably an extension of dismissal rites in Indonesia, combined with funeral orations in Polynesia, which in the more advanced societies has been turned to account by the priests who have made its proper performance a necessity for admission to the most desirable afterworld. The peculiar development in Borneo seems to be partly due to the influence of migrations, and to the former practice of taking back the corpse to the ancestral home, as described elsewhere (cf. pp. 73-4).

(b) *Sleeping with the corpse.* This method of conducting the soul seems to be the outcome of dreams, especially of those of the watchers by the grave or by the body, and who would be in a particularly sensitive condition after all they had gone through as chief mourners. Their accounts would affect the conception of the life after death, continually adding new details, their souls being supposed to accompany the dead man as far as the spirit-land. The actual custom of watching by the grave is probably due partly to tabu, by which those who have been in contact with death must remain apart, or in some cases with the idea of guarding the corpse from animals, enemies, or evil spirits. This practice is chiefly found in Melanesia.

(c) '*Catching the spirit.*' This is properly a special measure for those who have died away from home, or whose bodies cannot be recovered, corresponding with bringing back the corpse (or a substitute for it) to its own tribe for burial. It does not necessarily entail any belief in a journey to the spirit-land, as, for instance, in New Zealand, where it is found specially among those tribes (the Taranaki) who now believe that the ghost remains in the *wahi tapu* instead of going to the more distant *Po* or *Reinga*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Goldie (47), 24-5.

## X

### ADMISSION TO THE AFTERWORLD

#### § I. *Ordeals.*

In Polynesia the ordeal as such is rare. Chiefs and commoners go to separate afterworlds as a matter of course, because of their difference in rank, and therefore have different funeral rites; though occasionally (as in the case of the *Areois* in Tahiti, cf. p. 80) the help of the priests is necessary in order to attain the more desirable spirit-land, and thus the fate of the dead man has come to depend upon ritual. A ferryman to the other world sometimes occurs (cf. p. 9), but he merely conducts the souls thither, and is not in any sense a guardian or judge.

In Melanesia, speaking generally, admission to the spirit-land is chiefly affected by the death-feast or grave-gifts as denoting the riches, rank, or liberality of the deceased, although often the question of status is simply determined by the guardian, who examines the tatu or tribal marks of the ghost at the entrance to the home of the dead.

In Indonesia, again, the qualifications for admission are many and varied. In many cases 'goodness' is mentioned, which may mean anything from manner of death (very frequent) or high rank, to liberality on the part of the dead man or his friends. Occasionally the ordeal-bridge carries no test, or the crossing depends on chance. Sometimes, again, the bridge or guardian is mainly a means of dividing the dead from the living, and is perhaps really only the last stage of the soul's journey, beyond which there is no return.

(a) *Bridge.* The bridge to the other world, wherever found in Melanesia, is in the nature of an ordeal, but it only occurs rarely. Thus, in Ysabel in the Solomon Islands, the guardian-ghost sits on a tree-trunk over a pool, and examines each dead person for the frigate-bird tribal mark;<sup>1</sup> and the natives of Kwato in South-east British New Guinea have a snake-bridge which can only be crossed by those who have had a plentiful death-feast.<sup>2</sup>

In Indonesia, too, the bridge is generally an ordeal, with one

<sup>1</sup> Codrington (22), 257.

<sup>2</sup> Abel (1), 97-8.

or two notable exceptions. In Borneo the crossing of rivers by means of a log bridge is one of the dangers of the soul's journey for the Kayan-Bahau,<sup>1</sup> and becomes the climax of these wayside perils according to the Sea-Dyaks;<sup>2</sup> at the same time a bridge forms the entrance to the Sea-Dyak, Kayan, and Punan spirit-land, which lies in a river-basin,<sup>3</sup> and marks the division between the dead and the living among the Sea-Dyaks,<sup>4</sup> and also among the Toradja and neighbouring peoples in Celebes.<sup>5</sup> This looks as though the bridge (at any rate in Borneo and Celebes) were originally connected with the soul's journey rather than with admission-tests, perhaps replacing the canoe of the earlier legend among inland tribes to whom the sea is unfamiliar<sup>6</sup> (cf. pp. 25-6, 27), though it has now become a fully developed ordeal with a guardian among the Kayan and their neighbours. The idea that such a bridge forms the final barrier between the dead and the living is of very frequent occurrence, the bridge itself being often of such a nature that no living person can cross it (Minahassa,<sup>7</sup> Toradja,<sup>8</sup> &c.), or its guardian turns back the souls of those who are not really dead (Macassar,<sup>9</sup> Mono-Alu of the Bougainville Straits,<sup>10</sup> Maori,<sup>11</sup> &c.), while the soul which has once passed beyond it is gone beyond recall (Sea-Dyaks,<sup>12</sup> Maori,<sup>13</sup> Toradja<sup>14</sup>).

Elsewhere in Indonesia the ordeal-bridge is presided over by a guardian who is mainly responsible for the difficulty in crossing. In the Malay Peninsula (Semang, Sakai, and Besis) the dead have to cross a tree-bridge or chopper over a boiling lake, into which the 'ignorant and bad' (Sakai, West Semang, and Besis) or those who are frightened by a monster who keeps out those of other races (East Semang) fall;<sup>15</sup> but Mohammedan ideas of successive purifications, and of a fire instead of the boiling lake, have frequently imposed themselves upon the native beliefs. In Sumatra and Borneo, again, the bridge to the afterworld is prominent, appearing among the Battak of Padang Lawas as

<sup>1</sup> Nieuwenhuis (122), i. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 210.

<sup>3</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 41, 44.

<sup>4</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 210.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (83), 359-61.

<sup>6</sup> Kruijt (83), 359.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (83), 360.

<sup>8</sup> Kruijt (83), 359.

<sup>9</sup> Kruijt (83), 360-1.

<sup>10</sup> Wheeler (181), 98.

<sup>11</sup> Taylor (166), 231.

<sup>12</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 210.

<sup>13</sup> Elsdon Best (9), 232.

<sup>14</sup> Kruijt (83), 359.

<sup>15</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 207-9, 239-41, 299; Evans (36), 180; Martin (109), 951.



an ordeal, and in charge of a guardian among the Karo-Battak, in Nias, and among the Kayan, Punan, Milano, &c. (cf. details, pp. 113, 115).

In Melanesia there is often some sort of ordeal to be passed through at the entrance to the afterworld, as well as a guardian who examines the ghost. Thus the gate to the Buin (Bougainville) spirit-land has a keeper who must be propitiated, the drums at the funeral-feast denoting the opening of this gate,<sup>1</sup> and in Aurora (New Hebrides) the soul has to leap across a chasm, failure to reach the other side involving a return to life.<sup>2</sup> But usually the interest is centred rather in the guardian or judge of the dead, who has to be satisfied by gifts or proof of proper qualifications. In Fiji, however, there are so many encounters on the way to *Bulotu* that if they were taken seriously hardly any souls would arrive there; but this elaboration is chiefly due to the efforts of the professional story-tellers who deal with this subject after funerals.<sup>3</sup>

(b) *Guardians*. We may distinguish four varieties of guardian of the spirit-land (between which, however, there is no hard and fast line); the first and last are the simpler forms, from which the intermediate types seem to have developed.

- (1) The *monster* who merely frightens.
- (2) The *door-keeper* who can be propitiated or deceived.
- (3) The *inquisitor* who requires certain qualifications before permitting souls to enter.
- (4) The *judge* who decides the lot of ghosts in the spirit-land.

Two or more of these types often appear in the eschatological beliefs of one people, when they generally react on each other with very confusing results; this is especially the case in Indonesia, where the idea of dangers and admission-tests for the soul is so elaborate. Thus the Toradja ghost requires much skill to pass a pig which may bite it, a kemiri-nut being placed in the hand of a child-corpse to throw to him: there is also an examining guardian *Langkoda*, who lames those who are not married or have not killed an enemy; the way to pass him is to recount one's heroic deeds and love-adventures so cleverly that

<sup>1</sup> Thurnwald (171), i. 321.

<sup>2</sup> B. H. Thomson (169), 117.

<sup>3</sup> Codrington (22), 279.

he laughs, and his great upper-lip goes up to his eyes, when the soul can slip by unobserved.<sup>1</sup> Among the Punans of Borneo all varieties of guardian appear together. A helmeted hornbill tries to terrify the ghost by its screams, and make it fall off the ordeal-bridge into the jaws of a fish, while *Ungap*, a woman with cauldron and spear, aids the soul to escape if appeased with a gift; they have also adopted the Kayan beliefs in a guardian *Maligang*, who agitates the bridge, only allowing those who have taken heads (as indicated by the tatu marks on the hands) to cross, and in the so-called 'Supreme Being' *Bali Penyalong* and his wife, who have a house in *Apo Leggan* (the spirit-land).<sup>2</sup>

Upon careful examination this monster guardian-judge seems to be derived from two different sources evolving convergently, with mutual borrowings:

- (1) The monster-doorkeeper, at first merely a kind of bogey, gradually becomes a porter who has to be propitiated, or who asks questions of those who wish to pass.
- (2) The headman of the spirit-land, who rules over the dead (the equivalent of the tribal chief in this life), and allots to each his place, and so becomes a guide who points out the way, or who examines the credentials of each new arrival.

The Milano have these two types existing together in the purest form found in Indonesia. Thus the Milano of Muka describe a two-headed dog who tries to shake the nerve of the ghost by flinging ashes at him as he crosses the log-bridge to the afterworld, and who has to be propitiated by a valuable bead which is fastened to the right arm of the corpse;<sup>3</sup> while at the entrance the chief of the realm of the dead, *Balo Adat*, receives the soul and allots it its place, and it is from him that the priest must ask permission for it to return to the resting-place of the body to fetch the funeral-offerings.<sup>4</sup> In Melanesia and Polynesia this distinction is much more obvious, the monster being generally a mythical creature who looms large in legend but is not taken very seriously, like the huge pig in Aurora (New Hebrides) who devours all who in life have not planted '*emba*'

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 350-1.

<sup>2</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 40-4.

<sup>3</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Laurence and Hewitt (91), 405.

(pandanus-trees) by which one can climb up out of his reach,<sup>1</sup> or the two guardians of the Maori *Reinga*, past whom a light soul would fly swiftly and escape, but a heavy and clumsy soul would be caught and destroyed.<sup>2</sup> The judge is generally definitely the 'chief' of the afterworld, like the Black and Red Chiefs of the two Buin spirit-lands (one for natural and one for violent deaths),<sup>3</sup> the Rarotongan 'god of Paradise' *Tiki*,<sup>4</sup> the Samoan *Savea*, the 'King of *Pulotu*',<sup>5</sup> or *Topileta*, the headman of the underworld in the Marshall Bennets and Trobriands (North Massim), to whom the dead man brings some of his ornaments in their 'spiritual aspect' as payment for showing the proper way, the road taken depending on the kind of death undergone. *Topileta* is said to be very like an ordinary Trobriand Islander as regards his life, but has certain magical powers such as causing earthquakes, and when old makes 'medicine' which restores youth to himself and his family; he is bigger than a mortal man and covered with tatu, but otherwise resembles man. Whether he is supposed to exert any authority in the other world seems uncertain, though it is clear that in the first instance the dead were regarded as going to a country which belonged to him, and that he therefore inspects all new-comers<sup>6</sup> (cf. also Bartle Bay,<sup>7</sup> Waga-Waga<sup>8</sup> and Kwato<sup>9</sup> in South Massim, where a similar ghostly headman occurs). Unlike the Indonesian inquisitor, this kind of guardian sometimes fetches the souls in a canoe, as among the Kai of Huon Gulf<sup>10</sup> (ex-German New Guinea), or shows them the right route (e. g. Trobriands, Mono-Alu of Bougainville Straits,<sup>11</sup> &c.), and when the true doorkeeper appears, it is rather a question of tribal marks by which he decides the place of the dead man among the other ghosts, than of mere gifts or bribes to secure admittance. Thus the grave-gifts in the Trobriands are a fee to *Topileta* for showing the way,<sup>12</sup> and although in the Marshall Bennets he asks the dead why they have died, no importance seems to attach to the answer,<sup>13</sup> while the Wamira (Bartle Bay) questions are like those asked on earth when entering a new

<sup>1</sup> Codrington (22), 280.

<sup>2</sup> Wohlers (190), 111.

<sup>3</sup> Thurnwald (171), i. 318-19.

<sup>4</sup> J. Williams (185), 146.

<sup>5</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 118; Krämer (82), ii. 168.

<sup>6</sup> Seligman (146), 733; Malinowski (105), 359-61.

<sup>7</sup> Seligman (146), 657-8.

<sup>8</sup> Seligman (146), 655.

<sup>9</sup> Abel (1), 98.

<sup>10</sup> Keysser (77), iii. 149.

<sup>11</sup> Wheeler (181), 94.

<sup>12</sup> Malinowski (105), 359.

<sup>13</sup> Seligman (146), 734.

village.<sup>1</sup> Similar chiefs of the dead occur among the Roro (East of Cape Possession)<sup>2</sup> and in Malecula in the New Hebrides.<sup>3</sup>

In these simpler types of guardian, i. e. mere monster or chief of the dead, there is little connexion with funerary ritual in Melanesia and Polynesia, admission depending chiefly upon rank or tribal marks (cf. pp. 118, 121); and though special objects are often put in the grave for the alleged purpose of enabling the spirit to pass some ordeal, like the whale's tooth in the hand of the Fijian corpse, the 'soul' of which is thrown at a spiritual pandanus, the ghost who fails to hit it remaining in a solitary place,<sup>4</sup> it is not in any way a prominent feature of the rites, and the interpretation thereof is often somewhat arbitrary.

In Indonesia, on the other hand, where we find all forms of more elaborate guardians of the 'doorkeeper' and 'inquisitor' type, the provision of the admission-fee is very prominent in the burial-rites; for without a proper death-feast, entrance to the afterworld will be impossible, and the unhappy ghost will be turned back by the guardian for whom he has brought no fee of slain dogs and pigs. Moreover, this bribable monster and porter-inquisitor of dual origin are combined with a corresponding amalgamation of admission-tests, so that the ghost often needs two kinds of qualification, namely, that of rank or prowess (tatu-marks, right answering of questions, &c.) required by the guardian-judge, and the possession of grave-gifts offered at the death-feast with which to fee the monster-porter. Thus the Punan corpse has pebbles and beads in its nostrils to present to *Ungap*, and must also satisfy *Maligang* as to its status, as indicated by tatu.<sup>5</sup> But the very fact that the feeing of the guardian depends on grave-gifts tends to bring them into prominence, until they become the chief means of gaining admission, and the most plausible explanation for the celebration and elaboration of the death-feast. In Minahassa the rich give the guardian a piece of pig's flesh, and receive a recommendation by which they enter the dwelling of the gods; the poor (who cannot afford a death-feast) remain on earth,<sup>6</sup> while for the Battak of Padang Lawas (Sumatra) the crossing of the ordeal-

<sup>1</sup> Newton (121), 219.

<sup>2</sup> Watt Leggatt (180), 701.

<sup>3</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 41, 44.

<sup>4</sup> Seligman (146), 310.

<sup>5</sup> T. Williams (186), 206.

<sup>6</sup> Kruijt (83), 351-2, 379.



bridge depends on whether the soul has brought sufficient offerings.<sup>1</sup> In Nias we find a spirit judging souls 'according to their lives'; but the so-called 'bad' who are pushed into the river are those who have given no feasts and for whom no death-feast has been celebrated, though, according to some accounts, the 'good' are those with sons,<sup>2</sup> which looks like the remains of a test depending on status.

From this it appears that the idea of the admission-test and the elaboration of the death-feast have developed together, probably reacting on each other, until the former has actually become dependent upon the latter, and the neglect of funeral rites means debarring the dead man from the spirit-land.

The headman-judge is only closely connected with ritual when he has become a guardian-inquisitor rather than a chief of the dead, but is comparatively rare in Indonesia in his purer form. There are, however, the Andamanese *Puluga*, who sends spirits to the underworld, but lives himself in the sky<sup>3</sup> and is rather a god than a guardian, the old woman *Arud* who rules the underworld of the Sakai-Jakun of the Tekai River,<sup>4</sup> and the Kayan 'Supreme Being' whose house is in the spirit-land;<sup>5</sup> but none of these has any connexion with funeral-rites. Such a headman-guardian is especially open to Christian or Mohammedan influence, when he becomes a judge of good and bad. The 'burial-bamboo' (*pēnitāh*) of the Eastern Semang (cf. p. 127), described by Vaughan Stevens, is curious, and it is a pity that we have no more reliable information, but Skeat and Blagden say that his account agrees in substance with their own observations. This object is a bamboo-tube covered with incised patterns, which is buried with the dead man, whose soul takes it to the judgement-throne of *Kari* as a testimony to his behaviour in this life. The *pēnitāh* is given by the tribal chief (*Sna-hut*), who alone may cut the patterns on the bamboo, but if the person is very wicked he may refuse to do so, and the soul which cannot produce the burial-bamboo at *Kari*'s request is condemned. The patterns differ according to the age and sex of the deceased, the *Sna-hut* having a special one, and formerly always bore a

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 362.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 355, 362; De Zwaan (196), 124, 236-7.

<sup>3</sup> Man (106), 90.

<sup>4</sup> Evans (36), 196.

<sup>5</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 44.

name-mark. If the *Sna-hut* is absent at the time of burial, the *pēnitāh* is afterwards lowered into the grave through a deep hole ; in that case the soul must remain with the body until it arrives. Sometimes the *pēnitāh* was prepared during life, as the *Sna-huts* lived very scattered.<sup>1</sup> At first sight this looks like a primitive conception of a judgement with a moral test depending on 'good deeds' in this life. But from the fact that the patterns differ according to the age, sex, and rank of the dead person, and from the part played by the *Sna-hut*, is it not rather a method of indicating the social status of the soul on arrival in the other world (equivalent to the examination of tatu-marks or nose-piercing elsewhere), and thus a recommendation from the *Sna-hut* of the living to the headman of the spirit-land, *Kari* being the chief of the dead who receives the new arrival according to his tribal status rather than a judge who inquires into his moral character ? The 'wicked' man to whom the *pēnitāh* is refused may be one who has broken tribal laws, or who has died a 'bad death' (cf. p. 122), or merely some one who is not a member of the tribe. In this connexion it may be noted that Vaughan-Stevens also mentions that those who are kept out of the Semang Paradise (*Seapn*) by a spirit resembling a gigantic Semang are those belonging to other races, as though the test were one of tribal status.<sup>2</sup>

(c) *Ghosts*. The attitude adopted by the other ghosts towards the new-comer plays little part in Indonesian eschatology, though the Kayans send them cigarettes and messages by the dead man,<sup>3</sup> and the Kayan-Bahau and the Berawan of Baram beat drums to acquaint them that a fresh arrival may be expected, and also—perhaps primarily—to announce the death to distant villages.<sup>4</sup>

But in Melanesia it is very important to make a good impression on the older inhabitants of the spirit-land, and in the Gazelle Peninsula the grave-gifts are definitely given for this purpose, and drums are beaten at the funeral to show the ghosts that a rich man arrives :<sup>5</sup> this is evidently the meaning of continuous drum-music being said 'to make the entrance to *Tingena-taberan* easy' for the dead man.<sup>6</sup> In South Melanesia there is

<sup>1</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 209.

<sup>3</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 32-3 ; Ling Roth (95), i. 143-4.

<sup>4</sup> Nieuwenhuis (122), ii. 117 ; Furness (43), 62.

<sup>5</sup> Burger (17), 33.

<sup>6</sup> Parkinson (123), 79.

the same connexion between the grave-gifts and the impression created among the ghosts: thus in the Banks Islands an address is made at the grave, telling the ghost that when he is asked in *Panoi* whether he were a great man to say what was heaped beside him, and messages to the others are also given to him.<sup>1</sup> Among the Tami of Huon Gulf (ex-German New Guinea) the other ghosts torment new-comers, and make the actual entrance difficult, wherefore the dead are given the souls of treasures to divide among them on arrival.<sup>2</sup> The Kwato (South-east British New Guinea) soul is identified by his friends in the spirit-land, who make a feast in honour of his safe arrival,<sup>3</sup> but there is no connexion with ritual.

## § 2. *Qualifications.*

The qualifications demanded of the soul before it can be admitted to the spirit-land are many and varied, and seem to be very closely associated with the nature or proper performance of the burial-rites, if not actually dependent on them. But if we go a step farther back and enquire into what determines the form of the funeral itself, the true nature of the admission-test becomes more apparent. Ritual as such may be of the highest importance, and even become an end in itself by a process of degeneration; but that which underlies the rite is the true qualification, upon which admission properly depends, however much it may become obscured by the ritual which is its outward and visible sign, and without which it is incomplete.

(a) *Rank.* The qualification of rank is all-important in Polynesia, the gulf between chief and commoner being so wide in this life that it is taken for granted that there will be at least equal separation in the next world. Thus only chiefs and men of high rank are admitted to the home of the dead, although commoners have a special less favoured afterworld of their own (cf. p. 45). They have also different rites, and nearly everywhere chiefs only are preserved above ground in the extended position, while commoners are exposed or interred in the sitting-posture;<sup>4</sup> but this is incidental to their rank, the distinction being enhanced by the presence of two different races, each with its own distinc-

<sup>1</sup> Codrington (22), 268.

<sup>2</sup> Abel (1), 98.

<sup>3</sup> Bammiller (4), iii. 514-15.

<sup>4</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 268-9.

tive customs. In Tahiti, however, the qualification of rank is not sufficient, but the services of a priest are required for the performance of special highly paid rites before even the *Areois* can reach the abode of the blest at *Miru*<sup>1</sup> (cf. p. 80). Here, therefore, admission is absolutely dependent upon ritual. But although this is obviously due to priestly craft, it is an artificial development rather than an innovation, as the connexion between admission and funeral-rites already existed and could easily be extended; for Cook relates that Tahitians who are drowned (and thus have no funeral) remain in the sea,<sup>2</sup> and in Samoa there are elaborate ceremonies for catching the spirits of those who have died in battle, and whose bodies have not been recovered, lest the soul should haunt the living<sup>3</sup> (cf. also Maori, &c., pp. 107-8).

In San Cristoval (Solomon Islands) there is a similar difference in rites and fate between chiefs and commoners, the former, who are interred and their skulls preserved, being worshipped as powerful *tindalo*, while the latter have sea-burial and become insignificant sea-ghosts.<sup>4</sup> Here, however, the separation in the afterlife (probably originally due to racial mixture) has been accentuated by the nature of the rites, preservation being associated with the continued presence and cult of the dead, and sea-burial suggesting sea-ghosts (cf. pp. 8-9, 20).

Sometimes the existence of some sort of admission ordeal merely shows off the *mana* of the man of rank, and in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands in South-east British New Guinea only the great fighter (i. e. man of importance) can cross the snake-bridge in safety, while the 'old ugly deformed' person falls off the wriggling coils which were stretched out straight for the great man.<sup>5</sup> Similarly the idea that great men gain admission easily is exemplified by the Semang belief that their *b'lian* (medicine-men) are exposed in trees in order that they may fly over the head of the guardian-monster, probably an attempt to explain the persistence of an older burial-form (cf. p. 158), and among the Western Semang they alone are admitted to the Island of Fruits, while ordinary mortals go elsewhere.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ellis (33), i. 245, 403-4.

<sup>2</sup> Cook (23), ii. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Turner (176), 150-1; Stair (161), 184.

<sup>4</sup> Codrington (22), 258-9.

<sup>5</sup> Brown (15), 400.

<sup>6</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 208.



On the whole, the qualification of rank seems to be merely the natural order of things for primitive peoples whose ideas of the next world are modelled on the pattern of the society in which they live (cf. p. 137, &c.), so that the Polynesian chief lives apart from the insignificant commoner in the hereafter as here, and the Semang medicine-man can avoid the admission-tests which are the lot of ordinary people by the same magical powers which he displayed during his life.

(b) *Riches*. Wealth is generally synonymous with rank, and means an elaborate funeral and—especially in Indonesia—a lavish display of grave-gifts at the death-feast, often with the idea that these gifts are intended for the guardian, leading to the belief that it is they which secure admission to the spirit-land. In the Gazelle Peninsula (New Britain) the reception of the ghost in the other world depends on the display of '*tambu-money*' of the deceased (afterwards distributed among the relations) at the funeral-feast, and drums are beaten to denote the arrival of a rich man; the souls of poor men (i. e. those with no possessions which can be hung round the corpse, or whose relatives cannot provide them) remain in the bush.<sup>1</sup> But here also the efficacy of ritual is beginning to be recognized, as noted by Kleintitschen among the Coast-people. The latter believe that he who is turned away because of his poverty lives like a wild animal in the forest, and tries to harm and frighten the living, but if some one takes pity on him and makes a death-feast in his honour, and distributes *tambu*, he may go back to the after-world and gain an entrance.<sup>2</sup> (Compare also the Minahassans<sup>3</sup> and the Battak of Padang Lawas in Sumatra.<sup>4</sup>)

'Liberality' in the native sense as a qualification for the afterworld is but an extension of the same idea, the virtue in question being shown by the giving of feasts. As this seems to be one of the chief uses of riches, and also gives the most scope for impressive display, it is obvious that the margin between mere showing-off and so-called liberality is a very narrow one, the latter being practically identical with wealth. The 'bad' in Nias who cannot cross the sword-bridge are those who have

<sup>1</sup> Burger (17), 32-3; Parkinson (123), 79-80; G. Brown (15), 398.

<sup>2</sup> Kleintitschen (79), 227.

<sup>3</sup> Kruijt (83), 351-2, 379.

<sup>4</sup> Kruijt (83), 362.

given no feasts and for whom no death-feast has been celebrated<sup>1</sup> (i. e. a poor man who cannot afford to entertain or to provide for his funeral), and the Sulka (Gazelle Peninsula) soul is questioned by two rocks about its generosity in this life, the stingy person being changed into a rock.<sup>2</sup>

(c) *Status*. This is a very common qualification, especially in Melanesia, and keeps out strangers or those who are not full members of the tribe. Sometimes the guardian decides the matter by questions, and often tribal-marks have to be shown by the soul; nose-piercing is the test in Florida<sup>3</sup> (Solomon Islands), among the Roro of British New Guinea,<sup>4</sup> and the Te Rhoon Papuans of Dutch New Guinea,<sup>5</sup> while in Malecula and Efate<sup>6</sup> (New Hebrides), and among the Kayan of Borneo, tribal tatu-marks are necessary to pass by the guardian. These are picturesquely explained as being taken off and given to the guardian (Efate), or as illuminating for the ghost the dark places traversed on the journey to the other world (Kayan woman), but are evidently—as in this life—a sign of social status, as is clearly shown in the case of the Kayan head-hunter. Thus if a Kayan ghost has taken a head, or even taken part in a successful head-hunting raid, a fact indicated by the tatuing of the hands, he crosses the ordeal-bridge without difficulty.<sup>7</sup>

Sometimes only married people are admitted, or have full tribal rites. In Fiji bachelors meet with special difficulties on the journey,<sup>8</sup> Toradja male souls are asked whether they are married or have killed an enemy,<sup>9</sup> and among the Kizam of Palembang (Sumatra) only married people are interred in the proper burial-ground, all others being buried anywhere in the forest, and always at some distance.<sup>10</sup> Women, too, are sometimes not full members of the tribe, and have different burial, as in Tumleo Island (ex-German New Guinea<sup>11</sup>) and in Malecula (New Hebrides<sup>12</sup>). We have, however, no information that the two sexes met with a different fate in the hereafter, though, as the life in the spirit-land resembles this one, we may infer that

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 355.

<sup>2</sup> Parkinson (123), 187.

<sup>3</sup> Codrington (22), 256.

<sup>4</sup> Seligman (146), 310.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (83), 355.

<sup>6</sup> Macdonald (102), 729–30; Watt Leggatt (180), 701; Somerville (159), 10.

<sup>7</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 41, 47.

<sup>8</sup> J. Williams (186), 206.

<sup>9</sup> Kruijt (83), 351.

<sup>10</sup> Forbes (41), 182.

<sup>11</sup> Neuhaus (119), i. 165, 167.

<sup>12</sup> Watt Leggatt (180), 700.

all matters of social status are similar to those observed on earth.

Thus the qualification of status is merely a continuation of the social order obtaining in this life, and is unconnected with ritual, except in so far as the nature of a man's burial varies according to his social position or tribal grade.

(d) *Goodness*. The 'good' who are admitted to the afterworld are simply the 'qualified', it being generally a question of manner of death or liberality (i. e. wealth; cf. p. 120), or of proper funeral rites or tribal status. Thus in Nanumea in the Ellice Islands 'good' souls went to a land of brightness and clear water in the heavens, 'bad' ones to mud and darkness. 'Goodness meant one whose friends had given a grand funeral feast, and badness a person whose stingy friends provided nothing at all.'<sup>1</sup> In Nias, as we have seen (cf. p. 116), the 'bad' are those without sons, for whom no death-feast has been celebrated (it being the son's duty to provide the latter), though in Central Nias this category also includes adulterers, thieves, and murderers;<sup>2</sup> while the Semang burial-bamboo, which is denied to the bad man, is probably a tribal mark refused to those who are not full members of the tribe, or have broken its laws (cf. pp. 116-17). The idea of badness and wicked deeds among the Sakai and Besis of the Malay Peninsula, where the soul has to be purified by washing or fire, is obviously due to Mohammedanism;<sup>3</sup> probably the bad were originally those who had died 'bad' (i. e. violent) deaths, or were strangers, as among the Mantra (Jakun) there is a separate afterworld for 'bloody' deaths,<sup>4</sup> the Semang have some idea of an admission-test to keep out strangers as well as the wicked,<sup>5</sup> and the Central Sakai speak of a special gate into the spirit-land for Malays.<sup>6</sup>

In the Banks Islands and New Hebrides, however, there is something approaching a true moral qualification; in the former those of bad character, i. e. those who have caused death by charms, &c., are shut out of *Panoi*,<sup>7</sup> and in Aneiteum there was

<sup>1</sup> Turner (176), 292-3.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 355, 362; De Zwaan (196), 124, 237.

<sup>3</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 239-41; Martin (109), 950-1; Evans (36), 180.

<sup>4</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 321-2; Logan (99), 326; Martin (109), 953.

<sup>5</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 209.

<sup>6</sup> Evans (36), 180.

<sup>7</sup> Codrington (22), 274.

a special division of the spirit-land for the bad, who were thieves, liars, or murderers.<sup>1</sup>

(e) *Manner of death.* Certain kinds of death are considered by primitive peoples as specially bad or mysterious, and will here be termed unnatural, in contrast to the more ordinary so-called 'natural' deaths, though it is doubtful whether death from natural causes in our sense of the word forms part of native philosophy, a death without any apparent reason, or often after illness, being attributed to evil magic or spirits. The kinds of death which fall into the category of 'bad' or unnatural vary with different peoples, but suicides, murdered people, and those dying from disfiguring diseases like leprosy, are practically always included. Women dying in childbirth, and violent deaths of any kind, are often 'bad', those who fall from trees being specially mentioned in the south-east islands of the Malay Archipelago.

Such a 'bad' death always affects the afterlife, and means a different burial, or none at all, the soul meeting with a worse fate than that of an ordinary person. The Bontoc Igorots of Luzon, and the natives of Luang-Sermata in the South-east Malay Archipelago (among whom 'violent deaths' are specially prayed to)<sup>2</sup> are, however, exceptions. The former have different rites for *pintengs* (i. e. those beheaded in battle), though their spirit-land in the sky does not seem to be inferior to the ordinary afterworld in the mountains; but head-hunting is so prevalent among these people that few warriors escape this fate, the head being often bought back from the victors<sup>3</sup> (cf. p. 85).

Unnatural deaths are either shut out, or go to a different place or a separate division of the spirit-land, generally said to be the result of the different form—or absence—of burial rites. The souls of the drowned remain in the sea, because their bodies are lost, as in Tahiti,<sup>4</sup> San Cristoval (Solomon Islands),<sup>5</sup> and Wettar<sup>6</sup> (South-east Malay Archipelago), while in South Nias special rites are performed by the priest to bring the souls of the drowned into the afterworld.<sup>7</sup> The Maori also recite spells for chiefs killed and eaten in battle, in order that the soul,

<sup>1</sup> Turner (176), 326.

<sup>2</sup> Riedel (136), 316.      <sup>3</sup> Jenks (74), 182-3, 198.

<sup>4</sup> Cook (23), ii. 165.

<sup>5</sup> Codrington (22), 258-9.

<sup>6</sup> Riedel (136), 453.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (83), 375-6.



which has entered the stones of the oven in which his body has been cooked, may be brought within the burial-ground.<sup>1</sup>

In Indonesia the belief that a different fate is associated with the mutilation or omission of burial-rites is universal. In Borneo the Kayan, Kayan-Bahau, Milano, and their neighbours have a special division in *Apo-Leggan* and mutilated rites for such people;<sup>2</sup> the Olo Ngadjoe and Sea-Dyaks reserve a special compartment for suicides, and maimed rites for all unnatural deaths.<sup>3</sup> In Nias,<sup>4</sup> and among the Battak of Sumatra<sup>5</sup> and the Toradja of Celebes,<sup>6</sup> in Macassar<sup>7</sup> (South Celebes), Halmahera<sup>8</sup> (Moluccas), Keisar and Wettar<sup>9</sup> (South-east Malay Archipelago), suicides and those who have died from violence or bad sickness go to a special division of the spirit-land, and all these (except in Nias and Macassar, for which we have no direct evidence though it is probable by implication) have mutilated or no rites for such people. (Compare also Timorlaut in the South-east Malay Archipelago,<sup>10</sup> the Patalung and Patani, and the Mai Darát Sakai of Perak in the Malay Peninsula.<sup>11</sup>)

In Melanesia we find the same thing in a rather less pronounced form. In the Solomon Islands unnatural deaths have no rites, and are shut out of the afterworld in Vella-la-Vella<sup>12</sup> and Mono,<sup>13</sup> have special burial in San Cristoval<sup>14</sup> and Eddystone Island (lepers),<sup>15</sup> and have mutilated rites and a separate spirit-land among the Buin of Bougainville;<sup>16</sup> while in the Banks Islands<sup>17</sup> and in Pentecost and Malecula<sup>18</sup> (New Hebrides) a distinct place is set apart for them, and in Aurora (New Hebrides) they follow a special route.<sup>19</sup> (Compare also the Kiwai, Elema, and Torres Straits Islanders of British New Guinea,<sup>20</sup> and the Sulka of New Britain.<sup>21</sup>)

In Polynesia, however, it is taken for granted that lack of

<sup>1</sup> Taylor (166), 221.

<sup>2</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 40, 46; De Crespigny (26), 35; Nieuwenhuis (122), i. 91, 102, 104; ii. 469-70.

<sup>3</sup> Kruijt (83), 380; Ling Roth (95), i. 140.

<sup>4</sup> Modigliani (113), 291.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (83), 374-5. <sup>6</sup> Kruijt (83), 367, 379.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (83), 370.

<sup>8</sup> Kruijt (83), 378. <sup>9</sup> Riedel (136), 421, 453.

<sup>10</sup> Riedel (136), 306-7.

<sup>11</sup> Annandale and Robinson (3), i. 46, 101; ii. 77, 80, 82-4.

<sup>12</sup> Thurnwald (171), 321.

<sup>13</sup> Wheeler (181), 97.

<sup>14</sup> Verguet (178), 210.

<sup>15</sup> Hocart (200), 82.

<sup>16</sup> Thurnwald (171), i. 320; iii. 21.

<sup>17</sup> Codrington (22), 276.

<sup>18</sup> Codrington (22), 279.

<sup>19</sup> Beaver (7), 177; Holmes (69), 428-9; Myers and Haddon (56), 127.

<sup>21</sup> Parkinson (123), 186.

burial means exclusion from the spirit-land, as shown by the special soul-catching rites performed on these occasions in New Zealand, Samoa, and Niūe, and the Tahitian belief that the souls of the drowned remain in the sea (cf. p. 107).

(f) *Rites*. The ceremonies for conveying the soul to the home of the dead, especially in cases where the body cannot be recovered, have been dealt with elsewhere (cf. p. 107, &c.). Other rites which are supposed to affect the dead man's admission are included in the grave-gifts or funeral-feast, as these really embrace most of the other qualifications required of the soul. Thus the man of high rank or great wealth will have many grave-gifts and a large funeral feast; these will denote his importance upon arrival (cf. p. 120), and by a further extension may actually secure his entrance by making him strong enough to pass the ordeal, as in Kwato (British New Guinea) where, without the death-feast, the ghost would be too weak to cross the snake-bridge.<sup>1</sup> Again, liberality implies riches (cf. p. 120), as friends will not provide a big death-feast for a man who has not entertained during life, while 'goodness' often means a 'good funeral'.

But where the death-feast is of great importance, it is generally supposed to be the actual means of securing admission, the grave-gifts and funeral offerings being necessary to pass the guardian, as among the Papuans of Dutch New Guinea, in Borneo, and among the Niassers and Battak of Sumatra, &c. (cf. pp. 115-16). The Toba-Battak have elaborated their death-feast (*turun*) until only rich and important people can afford it, and as only those who have had a *turun* go to the spirit-land, all except the wealthy are excluded;<sup>2</sup> while the Sea-Dyaks of Sarawak often bury so much valuable property with the dead that a father who has lost many children is frequently reduced to poverty.<sup>3</sup> The costly rock-graves of the Toradja likewise necessitate years of waiting, the corpses of poor people being simply thrown without ceremony into a chasm,<sup>4</sup> and the priestesses say that those with no funeral-feast go to a plain instead of a hill, but this is not really a popular belief.<sup>5</sup>

One of the favourite interpretations of grave-gifts, especially

<sup>1</sup> Abel (1), 97-8.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 332.

<sup>3</sup> Low (100), 204.

<sup>4</sup> Grubauer (49), 204, 257.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (83), 379-80.

in Sumatra and Borneo, where the funeral-feast has attained such size and importance, is that they are to enable the soul to pass the guardian. In Melanesia the idea is less developed, and the grave-gifts are rather to impress the other ghosts or to denote the rank or wealth of the deceased, so that he may take his proper place in the spirit-land as in this world. In New Britain we find an instance of the wealth qualification developing into the ritual qualification (cf. p. 120).

Thus the funeral-feast, which really depends upon rank, wealth, or status, becomes in itself able to effect admission; the details of how this happens are filled in according to circumstances, it being generally thought that the feast is a means of enhancing the ghost's own powers in the entrance-ordeal, or of propitiating a guardian.

In Melanesia there is generally some sort of ordeal (rock, gate, or occasionally bridge) as well as the guardian at the entrance to the afterworld, but it is not of very great importance. The real interest is centred on the qualifications of the soul (tribal marks and so forth), and ritual is of little moment in this connexion. In Indonesia the bridge was probably at first the last stage of the soul's journey, or the barrier between the dead and the living, rather than an ordeal. It is almost always presided over by a guardian, and is merely his instrument in keeping out the unqualified. Other forms of ordeals (without guardians) are also simply obstacles of this sort, and are almost wholly unconnected with rites; indeed, wherever ritual is intended to influence admission, there is always a guardian as well as an ordeal.

There are four varieties of guardians :

- (a) Monster-bogey.
- (b) Door-keeper open to bribes.
- (c) Inquisitor-guardian.
- (d) Headman-judge.

Of these (a) and (d) are the simpler forms, from which (b) and (c) and their various complications and amalgamations are derived, though sometimes all types occur together.

The two simpler forms are frequent in Melanesia and occur

in Polynesia (but admission-tests are rare in the latter), and the connexion with ritual is slight. Often some of the grave-gifts are explained as being to appease the monster, but the matter is of little importance, and is rather a picturesque feature of a myth than an essential part of eschatological belief. The rôle of the ghostly headman is more to sort out the souls who enter his domain than to guard the entrance, and the tests—if any—are of status or rank, and have no connexion with the burial-rites, except that occasionally (chiefly in British New Guinea) some of the grave-gifts are considered as a sort of fee for showing the way. But usually they are simply a mark of rank which will denote the standing of the dead man when he presents himself to his new chief, and have thus no ritual efficacy.

In Indonesia all varieties of the door-keeper and inquisitor-guardian occur in conjunction with elaborate admission-tests, and are definitely associated with the performance of funeral-rites, especially the death-feast (cf. p. 125, &c.). Probably the evolution of the guardian and admission-test, and that of the death-feast as affecting the fate of the soul, have taken place side by side with mutual borrowings, until entrance to the spirit-land has come actually to depend upon the proper performance of the death-feast. This is carried to such an extreme among certain peoples, notably in Minahassa, and among the Toba-Battak of Sumatra, that only the rich who can afford the funeral-feast are able to reach the afterworld.

The headman-judge has generally become the guardian-inquisitor in Indonesia, but traces of him remain either as a somewhat shadowy god of the spirit-land (Kayan, Dusun,<sup>1</sup> &c.), or as a kind of judge who sorts out the souls (e. g. Semang, Andamanese, Milano, &c.), or sends guides to direct them on their way. He has no connexion with ritual, except in the case of the Semang 'burial-bamboo', which is probably really a version of a tribal admission-test. He is, moreover, specially liable to be distorted by Moslem or Christian influence into a true 'Judge' who rewards the 'good' and punishes the 'wicked'.

The rôle played by the other ghosts in this connexion is relatively unimportant; for although the impression made on them

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 381.



is fairly prominent in Melanesian beliefs, the grave-gifts being often intended for this purpose, and occasionally deciding the actual place of the deceased in the spirit-land, the ghosts never have the right to refuse admission, with the exception of the Tami of Huon Gulf, where they have to be propitiated by the new-comer with his funeral-offerings. In Indonesia the other ghosts are merely the recipients of affectionate messages and presents from the living, entrusted to the dead man.

Admission to the afterworld depends primarily upon either :

- (1) Full tribal status ;
- (2) Rank or wealth ;
- (3) Manner of death.

1. *Full tribal status.* Here there is little connexion with ritual, except that those who are not full members of the tribe, or who have forfeited their position by the manner of their death, do not have full burial-rites, which makes their separation in the hereafter more certain. This qualification is specially prevalent in Melanesia.

2. *Rank or wealth.* This is a much more elastic category, and leaves greater scope for secondary interpretations and developments. A special burial and a superior fate are the natural corollary of the person of high rank whose lot cannot be the same as that of common men, or of the magician who is exempt from the woes of ordinary mortals (e.g. San Cristoval, the Semang, &c.). Such is especially the case where the distinction between chiefs and commoners is emphasized by the presence of two races and cultures, as in Polynesia ; and such a difference is often still more accentuated by the burial-forms themselves, which each suggest a different type of afterworld, as in San Cristoval (p. 119).

This qualification develops in the following ways :

(a) *Priestly aid invoked.* In Polynesia the superiority of the chiefly rites and fate is part of the prerogative of noble rank, but even here the priests have introduced the idea that the dead man's destiny may be controlled by ritual (Maori and Tahitians). This is an elaboration for their own purposes of the prevailing belief that the soul cannot reach the spirit-land unless the body has been buried, as shown by the Samoan 'catching

the spirit', and the ceremonies for the recovery of the souls of Maori chiefs eaten in battle. As the priestly fees are high, admission to the chiefly Paradise becomes more exclusive than ever.

(b) *Wealth determines the soul's position in the spirit-land.* The rank or importance of the dead man is shown by his wealth, by which he makes an impression on arrival in the hereafter, and so takes his proper place. The funeral gifts, as a sign of this wealth, become necessary to assure his position there, and by them he is at once recognized by the other ghosts, or by the chief or guardian who has the direction of affairs in the home of the dead, where the conditions of social life are similar to those on earth. This is found in New Britain, the Banks Islands, New Hebrides, and elsewhere, inferior people being also admitted to inferior positions, but funeral-gifts having become the chief criterion of rank, e. g. Malecula, where the dead take rank according to the number of pigs they bring with them.

(c) *The death-feast becomes the means of admission.* The funeral-feast often attains such importance that it becomes in itself a means of admission, instead of being merely the outward mark of rank or wealth; in its simpler form it gives the ghost strength to pass the admission-test, in more elaborate beliefs it becomes a gift to the guardian or a mode of impressing him. This is the most usual development in Indonesia, and leads to such elaborate death-feasts and final funeral-rites that only the rich can afford them, the poor being shut out or consigned to an inferior afterworld. It is probably a special development of (b) (i. e. wealth and position denoted by funeral gifts), and eventually becomes as exclusive as (a), where the man of high rank and great means alone gains admission.

(d) *Ritual admission.* The ritual admission test attains its fullest development by artificial means, through the power of the priests or medicine-men. In Indonesia (cf. Toradja priestesses, p. 125), it acts through the dimensions of the death-feast, which is carefully regulated by the priestly authorities, culminating in Polynesia (Tahiti and Samoa) in a special highly paid rite, requiring a special priest.

(3) *Manner of death.* Unnatural deaths have practically always different (or no) rites, and a worse fate. The latter is

probably the direct consequence of the bad death, intensified by the absence or mutilation of the usual ritual, together with the idea that different treatment of the body implies a different fate for the soul. In this connexion we find the following :

(a) *A very close connexion between the fate of the body and that of the soul.* Thus, where the body cannot be recovered, the soul never reaches the general home of the dead, unless special rites are performed (New Zealand, Samoa, Nias, &c.), especially if the body be lost at sea (Tahiti, Nias, San Cristoval). Likewise, when two bodies are treated in different ways, there will be a corresponding differentiation in the fate of each.

(b) *Some evidence that burial without any ceremony signifies a worse fate,* the soul being entirely shut out of the spirit-land (Mono, Vella-la-Vella, Bali, &c.), *than when the rites are merely mutilated,* when a different compartment or special place is set apart for it (Borneo). Thus Toradja dying of incurable sickness are thrown out into an uninhabited place, and are apparently excluded from the spirit-land, while suicides and unnatural deaths have maimed rites, and are confined to their own village in the hereafter.<sup>1</sup> Among the Toba-Battak and Sea-Dyaks the 'worst death' is suicide, entailing absence of rites and no admission, while other unnatural deaths meet with a milder fate.<sup>2</sup>

*The moral test.* 'Liberality' is the nearest approach to 'goodness' as a qualification for admission to the spirit-land, and in a primitive community is more or less identical with wealth. There are, however, isolated instances (Banks Islands, New Hebrides, Niûe) of workers of evil magic, liars, and thieves, evidently those who have offended against tribal law, being refused admittance. But only the Kayan-Bahau of Borneo go so far as to attribute unnatural deaths and their consequences to the direct vengeance of an offended deity.<sup>3</sup>

Otherwise, outside the Mohammedan sphere of influence, where ideas of moral sin and purification have intruded themselves into native beliefs, 'goodness' merely means 'qualified', generally by virtue of a good death or funeral, or sometimes of rank. Enquiries as to actions performed in this life are often made, it is true, by the examining guardian, but they are con-

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 367, 379.

<sup>2</sup> Nieuwenhuis (122), i. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Kruijt (83), 367, 374-5.

cerned with matters of tribal status rather than with moral virtues. Thus the taking of heads denotes the warrior-class, the giving of feasts a person of wealth, to be married indicates the attainment of a certain tribal grade, and so forth, such questions on the part of the guardian replacing or supplementing the tribal marks, grave-gifts, &c., which mark the status of the newly arriving soul. Sometimes in Melanesia (and this is especially the case in Fiji) the matter is hardly taken seriously, and depends on the chance results of various encounters, which are more of the nature of legendary tales than of true eschatological belief.



## XI

### NATURE OF THE AFTERLIFE

THREE factors play an important part in determining the nature of the afterworld as conceived by primitive peoples.

(a) *The desire for a better existence*, leading to the theory of what we may call 'Idealized Continuance', according to which what is good in this life becomes better in the hereafter, and what is bad worse.<sup>1</sup> This is identical with the 'craving for completeness' existing in every human being, to which attention has been drawn by modern psycho-analysts.

(b) *Personal experience* obtained by observation of the phenomena of death, and from dreams or hallucinations which are believed to represent real occurrences. It is this which underlies the notion of the unreality of the spirit-land where ghosts lead a vague and shadowy existence.

(c) *A limited mental horizon* so entirely overshadowed by the sanctions and social tradition of the tribe, that it can only conceive of an afterlife framed on similar lines to this one.

The main characteristics attributed by any people to the life after death will depend upon the comparative predominance of one of these factors; this will be modified to a greater or less degree by the others, and in many cases subjected further to the influences of such religious or ethnological considerations as funerary ritual and priestly doctrines, ideas of punishment, or of a return to the original home of the tribe.

#### § I. *Idealized Continuance.*

This usually takes the form of a spirit-land which is a better edition of life on earth, where there is plenty of food with no sickness or work, while undesirables starve in misery. In Rotuma the afterworld is said to be full of coco-nuts, pigs, and all that a man could wish for,<sup>2</sup> while the *Burotu* of the Lau Islands is inhabited by beautiful girls, with sweet-singing birds among marvellous trees that bear fruit all the year round.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. ii, p. 75, &c., on 'Continuance Theory'.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner (44), 469.

<sup>3</sup> St. Johnston (165), 30.

In the Murray Islands (Torres Straits) spirit-land every one is bright and happy, with plenty of food and no work.<sup>1</sup>

Beliefs in a return to the ancestral home are also a contributory factor in the 'better land' theory. *Apu Kesio*, the afterworld of the Kayan-Bahau of Borneo for those who have died 'good deaths', is a happy place where there is abundance of food and no need to work; the good spirits there are conceived of as ancestors of long-passed times, and are still called upon for help.<sup>2</sup> Again the Baining of New Britain, who are now a mountain-people, believe in a flat afterworld, a happy place where all become young and all are equal: formerly these tribes lived in a plain from which they were driven into the mountains by floods.<sup>3</sup>

Occasionally the afterworld is the abode of the gods, as in Minahassa as regards chiefs and rich people,<sup>4</sup> but this is comparatively rare, although a god is sometimes regarded as the chief or headman of the land of the dead (cf. pp. 114, 116). Semi-deified Polynesian chiefs are often said to join the gods in *Po* or in a special heaven; but it seems uncertain whether *Po* (= 'Place of Night') was altogether a happy place, and in the special heaven it is practically a question of post mortem deification<sup>5</sup> (cf. p. 80). For the most part the idea of the afterworld as a place of great happiness depends upon its contrast with some form of Purgatory for the unqualified. Such is the *Pachet* of Ponape in the Caroline Islands, a place of perpetual feasting among lovely sights and sweet odours, in contrast to the mire, cold, and darkness of *Pueliko*; <sup>6</sup> or the Andamanese Paradise (*jer-eg*) in the eastern sky, below which is a place of punishment (*jereg-làr-mū-gu*) which is very cold.<sup>7</sup>

The idea of punishment within the spirit-land itself, whether it be merely a question of inferior status, or of a definitely unhappy existence, is a further elaboration of the Idealized Continuance theory, assisted by the development of ritual and priestly power (cf. p. 138, &c.). It is moreover natural that the upholders of tribal tradition should expect a better fate than

<sup>1</sup> Hunt (72), 8.

<sup>2</sup> Nieuwenhuis (122), i. 102; ii. 469.

<sup>3</sup> Burger (17), 62-4.

<sup>4</sup> Kruijt (83), 379.

<sup>5</sup> Ellis (33), i. 397; Cook (23), i. 404; ii. 164; Stair (161), 211; G. Brown (15), 222; Tregear (174), 118 and 122.

<sup>6</sup> Christian (21), 75.

<sup>7</sup> Man (106), 94.

law-breakers, and so appear the first notions of retribution. Thus in New Britain where liberality is the highest virtue, niggardly people are especially punished hereafter,<sup>1</sup> and in the Bornean spirit-land thieves live in houses without roofs.<sup>2</sup> The Kenja and Kayan-Bahau of the Upper Mahakam River (Borneo) have elaborate explanations of this kind for the necessity of *tatu*: by this will warriors be recognized hereafter as brave men, and only fully *tatued* women will be allowed to bathe in the river *Telang* in the land of the dead, and thus to approach the pearls on its bed, which apparently makes the pain of *tatu* easier to bear for the Kenja women.<sup>3</sup> Priests again are prone to insist on the definite advantages of elaborate funerary ritual; and if they alone have access to the spirit-land in France, and thus alone can describe the conditions there, their opportunities in this direction are unlimited. In Malecula (New Hebrides) for instance sacred men have often visited the underworld, so know all about it, and it is believed that the dead will punish those on earth who neglect to feed them by sacrificing pigs from time to time.<sup>4</sup> In an account given by a Berawan chief on the Tingar River the power of the priests is well shown in this connexion: 'if my head were cut off, my second self would go to *Bulun Matai*, where beyond a doubt I should be happy; the *Dayongs* tell us, and surely they know, that those who have been brave and have taken heads, as I have, will be respected in that other world and will have plenty of riches. . . . The *Dayongs* must be right, for they have been to the Fields of the Dead and come back to tell us all about it.'<sup>5</sup> Among these Berawan the *Dayongs* take full advantage of their opportunities: they assist at the funeral feast, when chickens are slain and omens taken, and receive many fees, and no doubt they are chiefly responsible for the current belief that the spirit returns from *Bulun Matai* shortly after death to see if the ceremonies are being properly performed, and if they are neglected or forgotten afflicts the culprits with blindness or deafness.<sup>6</sup> With this may be compared the functions of the Sea-Dyak professional wailer (p. 94), and ritual conducting among the Toradja and Tobelorese<sup>7</sup> (pp. 103, 106).

<sup>1</sup> G. Brown (15), 195.

<sup>2</sup> Nieuwenhuis (122), i. 450-1.

<sup>3</sup> Furness (43), 61-2.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (83), 342, 344.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 368.

<sup>4</sup> Somerville (159), 10.

<sup>6</sup> Furness (43), 95, 140.

There is always a tendency for the priesthood to have a monopoly of the afterworld; Ellis remarks that all the Hawaiians knew of the future life 'was from visions or dreams of the priests',<sup>1</sup> and in Tahiti admission to *Rohuta Noanoa* (the chiefly Paradise) entirely depends upon their highly paid services<sup>2</sup> (cf. p. 162).

Thus the theory of Idealized Continuance rests mainly on a psychological basis, and is in itself little connected with rites: but in its elaborations it easily lends itself to priestly interpretation, and acquires an artificial dependence upon the proper performance of certain funerary ritual.

## § 2. *Shadowy Existence in the Spirit-land.*

This type of afterworld is specially characteristic of South Melanesia (cf. p. 42, &c.). From Torres Islands to Pentecost in the New Hebrides the souls of the dead live underground,<sup>3</sup> and according to the Banks Islanders the life there is like earthly life, but unreal, as the ghosts do nothing but talk, sing, and dance, and there is no *gamal* (club-house) or marriage or fighting or *vui* (spirits).<sup>4</sup> In Malecula (New Hebrides) it is said to be a poor place,<sup>5</sup> and in Efate gloomy, sad, and dark, where everything is shadowy and unreal.<sup>6</sup> In the Loyalty Islands too the souls of the dead are somewhat ethereal: although they return to Lifu, and are visible to people of all ranks, no one could come into close contact with them, because they are always enveloped in a soft cloudy mist.<sup>7</sup> Such a conception of ghostly life must be partly due to personal observation: the lifelessness and decay of the corpse suggest the unreality of the ghost and the barrenness of its life, and this is intensified by the effect of dreams and hallucinations on the suggestible native mind, the Melanesians especially paying great attention to dreams.

Gloomy ideas of the afterworld are not wanting elsewhere, though often inextricably mingled with conflicting accounts. In New Zealand the fate of the soul is on the whole an undesirable one (although some natives deny this),<sup>8</sup> and leads to loss of faculties and final disintegration; but all is vague, and the Maori—like most Polynesians—displayed a lack of interest in the

<sup>1</sup> Ellis (32), 341.

<sup>3</sup> Codrington (22), 264.

<sup>5</sup> Watt Leggatt (180), 701.

<sup>7</sup> Hadfield (57), 161.

<sup>2</sup> Ellis (33), i. 245-6, 403-4.

<sup>4</sup> Codrington (22), 275-6.

<sup>6</sup> Macdonald (102), 730.

<sup>8</sup> Elsdon Best (9), 231-2.



whole subject.<sup>1</sup> Such a theory of the degradation and ultimate annihilation of the soul is apparently due to inability to conceive of a truly objective life for the dead for any considerable period ; as the memory of them becomes dim among the survivors (when doubtless they appear but rarely in dreams and visions), so they gradually fade away in the imagined land of spirits (cf. p. 152). This is especially the case when the home of the dead is underground, which suggests darkness and misery, as for instance the dark and melancholy underworld of the *Toradja* of Celebes.<sup>2</sup>

This notion of the depleted powers of the dead man, evidently drawn from analogies with the corpse, is reflected in many minor details of belief or ritual. The general idea that the ghost is cold and is specially in need of warmth, must be partly due to the coldness of the corpse. According to a native account from Kwato in South-east British New Guinea, the soul requires reviving upon its arrival in the spirit-land. 'There *Sauga* (the headman of the afterworld) will receive him. And *Sauga* will light a fire under a frame of split cane, and will lay him upon it ; and as the heat of the fire rises, the body of *Naniwa* ("what's his name") will gradually come to life again ; and his friends who are there will identify him, and make a great feast in honour of his safe arrival.'<sup>3</sup> The Tami of Huon Gulf (ex-German New Guinea) also think that the soul is cold when it reaches the underworld, and the other ghosts heat stones for it.<sup>4</sup> Similar offices are performed for the newly arrived soul according to the Mono-Alu, where the ghosts rub the body until it is well,<sup>5</sup> the Buin, where it is fed up with roasted bananas until it recovers from dying and cremation,<sup>6</sup> and the Papuans of Siar (ex-German New Guinea<sup>7</sup>). In Saa (East Solomon Islands) this condition is definitely connected with the decay of the corpse : when the body is rotting, the ghost is weak ; when the smell has ceased the ghost is strong and is no longer a man.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps this is partly because this passage to the spirit-land is a transition-stage, a 'rite de marge', an abnormal period when the usual activities are

<sup>1</sup> Tregear (174), 118-19 ; Wohlers (190), 111 ; Taylor (122), 231-2 ; White (183), 361.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 380.

<sup>3</sup> Abel (1), 98.

<sup>4</sup> Bammler (4), iii. 518.

<sup>5</sup> Wheeler (181), 101-2.

<sup>6</sup> Thurnwald (171), i. 318.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (83), 378.

<sup>8</sup> Codrington (22), 260.

suspended, the old stage having been left behind but the new not yet begun (cf. p. 89, &c.).

The most common explanation of funeral fires is that they are to warm the ghost, either while he lingers round the grave before his final departure (cf. pp. 94-7), or for his use in the spirit-land as among the Sea-Dyaks of Borneo. Among the latter a fire is lighted on the river-bank near the house of the dead man on the evening after a death, and kept burning all night, being relighted on three or four successive evenings. This is for use of the departed, for in 'Hades' fire is not to be procured without paying for it, and if the dead find any difficulty about obtaining fire, they can come and fetch it from the fire lit by their earthly friends.<sup>1</sup> The Sea-Dyaks have also elaborate ceremonies for providing food and other necessities for the ghost in the after-world (cf. p. 94). No doubt these fires were originally intended for practical purposes such as protection, warmth, or purification, and the idea of warming the ghost is a later interpretation suggested by the analogy of the corpse, which again adds picturesque detail to the conception of the life and needs of the ghost in the land of the dead.

Hence arises a curiously inconsistent account of the life of departed spirits. The sudden appearance of the dead in dreams, and their apparent mobility, produces a sense of vague fear of the unusual, and a tendency to attribute to them strange powers for evil or good: the coldness of the corpse and the dissolution of the body suggest unreality, impairment of faculties, incapacity of physical enjoyment, and a gloomy limited afterlife. The connexion with ritual is slight, and consists chiefly of the belief in the weakness of the ghost and his desire for warmth and food, and the consequent interpretation of funeral fires and grave-gifts (especially in the form of food) as serving this purpose, with the elaboration of various details connected therewith.

### § 3. *Afterworld a Reflection of this Life.*

That the conditions of the afterlife are framed on similar lines to this one is usually the chief characteristic of the primitive conception of the land of spirits, modified though it may be (as we have seen above) by a sense of unreality, or by a desire for

<sup>1</sup> Gomes (48), 139.

a better existence. Dreams also help to confirm this view, the spirits of the departed being seen in sleep performing their old occupations. In Nias they say that life in *banua niha ton* is similar to earth, as shown by dreams in which the dead are seen in villages and houses.<sup>1</sup> The land of the dead has also its social distinctions, its headman, and its villages, while the ghosts eat and dance, often fight, marry and have children and even die (cf. p. 149) as on earth, though sometimes they are exempt from such misfortunes as sickness, the necessity of working, or an insufficiency of food. Thus in the underworld of the Kai of Huon Gulf (ex-German New Guinea) the dead live in groups, with sickness, wounds, marriage, children, magic, &c., as in this life;<sup>2</sup> according to the Trobriand Islanders (North Massim) ghosts marry quickly and settle down in their new home;<sup>3</sup> and at Nukufetau in the Ellice Islands the underground spirit-land had heavens, houses, trees, &c., with family and clan divisions, so that each individual might go to his own,<sup>4</sup> while the Andamanese say that when a man dies he is ceremonially initiated into the world of the dead just as a youth is initiated into manhood.<sup>5</sup> Hence the idea that what gives prosperity in this life will give it in the next, as a result not as a reward,<sup>6</sup> and the importance of the grave-gifts and funeral feast to impress the other ghosts or denote the rank or wealth of the deceased, and thus to determine his social status in the hereafter. The property at the grave is the outward and visible sign of rank rather than a kind of traveller's outfit for use in a new life, at any rate in Melanesia (e. g. Solomon Islands, Banks Islands, and New Britain), though elsewhere (especially the Malay Peninsula, Kayan, &c., of Borneo), the grave-gifts are generally said to be for the use of the soul in the spirit-land (cf. chap. XV).

#### § 4. *Punishment.*

In the majority of cases in the area under consideration there is no idea of rewards and punishments (in the strict sense) in a future life. Sometimes all are equal in the spirit-land, as for instance among such peoples as the Murray Islanders of Torres

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 375-6.

<sup>2</sup> Keysser (77), iii. 150.

<sup>3</sup> Malinowski (105), 362. <sup>4</sup> Turner (176), 286. <sup>5</sup> A. R. Brown (197), 290.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. ii, p. 84.

Straits,<sup>1</sup> or the Baining of New Britain,<sup>2</sup> but more usually there are social divisions as in this life. This method of grouping in its simplest form of age-grades appears among the Mafulu Pygmies of the interior of British New Guinea, who believe that the souls of all young people appear as the shimmering light in the undergrowth, and those of elderly people as a peculiar sort of fungus.<sup>3</sup>

But the idea of some kind of separation is not entirely confined to rank and status. There are many people who are entirely shut out of the afterworld, or consigned to an inferior place (cf. chap. X) ; and besides these disqualified souls there is a tendency to sort out the ghosts within the spirit-land itself, especially with regard to manner of death, and hence to the proper performance of the funeral rites and (particularly in Indonesia) the proportions of the death-feast.

(a) *Alternative Afterworld.* The existence of two afterworlds, one inferior to the other, is generally due to the presence of two cultures with different burial forms and beliefs, as in Polynesia where the underworld is a relic of the earlier inhabitants and only survives as a sort of Hell for commoners (cf. p. 45). The rites of the latter differ both in quality (because of rank) and kind (because of race) from those of chiefs, and though this difference in ritual may not actually determine their fate in the hereafter, it makes the future separation of the two classes more certain.<sup>4</sup> Occasionally, however, there is a definitely unpleasant afterworld for 'bad' deaths with mutilated rites, as among the Semang and Mantra of the Malay Peninsula<sup>5</sup>—partly due perhaps to Mohammedan influence—and in Malecula<sup>6</sup> in the New Hebrides, where it is evidently an extension of separate divisions within the afterworld.

There is also a sort of negative afterlife for souls shut out of the general spirit-land. For these there is seldom any definite abode: unless they are destroyed outright, they are mostly condemned to wander about between their graves and the spirit-

<sup>1</sup> Hunt (72), 8.

<sup>2</sup> Burger (17), 62.

<sup>3</sup> Williamson (189), 281; id. (187), 267.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also Solomon Islands in Appendix I.

<sup>5</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 205-8, 321-2; Martin (109), 953; Logan (99), 326.

<sup>6</sup> Watt Leggatt (180), 701.



land, or in the dark parts of the forest or in the bush, whence they emerge to harm or annoy the living. Such a belief obviously rests upon a psychological basis. These errant souls belong to the disqualified who have been denied proper rites, and who have therefore a special grudge against the living, by whom they are seen at intervals, particularly near the scene of their untimely death; especially is this the case as regards the ghosts of murdered men who are supposed to be seeking revenge on the murderer or his tribal brothers. And it is these homeless ghosts who are so much feared, and who are prone to cause disease and misfortune, their power for evil being increased by their very mobility and by their proximity to the living, unlike those more normal dead who are for the most part happily occupied in a distant afterworld.

In Melanesia admission to the spirit-land is less difficult than in the Malay Archipelago, but those who fail to enter are generally destroyed (cf. p. 148). Very bad people, however, sometimes wander about: in the Banks Islands those who work evil magic are shut out of *Panoi* (other 'bad' souls have only a special division<sup>1</sup>), and in Vella-la-Vella (Solomon Islands) the souls of the murdered remain near their bodies, and when these decay go into the bush and are feared as being revengeful.<sup>2</sup> In the Elema District of the Gulf of Papua the souls of those who have suffered violent deaths roam about constantly, being 'often seen near their former abode', and are a cause of annoyance to their murderers (who perhaps have a guilty conscience!); those who have been killed by snakes or crocodiles sometimes reside in these creatures and are thought to be specially malicious.<sup>3</sup> In the Eastern Islands of the Malay Archipelago a similar fate befalls 'bad deaths', as in Timorlaut,<sup>4</sup> Wettar,<sup>5</sup> &c.; and among the Papuans of ex-German New Guinea those killed in battle, and the poor who cannot enter the afterworld because they have had no death-feast, wander in the forest and live in trees.<sup>6</sup> Among rather more advanced peoples like the tribes of Borneo and Sumatra (cf. p. 130) those who die of very bad

<sup>1</sup> Codrington (22), 275.

<sup>2</sup> Thurnwald (171), i. 321.

<sup>3</sup> Holmes (69), 428-9.

<sup>4</sup> Riedel (136), 307; Forbes (41), 324; Bastian (6), ii. 91.

<sup>5</sup> Riedel (136), 453.

<sup>6</sup> Kruijt (83), 378.

deaths, and are therefore denied all rites, are also completely shut out of the home of the dead.

This type of afterlife is a state rather than a place, and represents the most primitive conception of a Hell in the theological sense. It embodies the idea of a separate inferior existence for souls shut out of 'Paradise', albeit an existence of an indeterminate nature not yet crystallized into a specific region, and only punitive in so far as its chief feature is the absence of the pleasures enjoyed by the other souls. At the same time it solves the problem of the fate of souls unqualified for admission to the spirit-land for peoples to whom the notion of immediate annihilation often presents great difficulties, especially in the face of apparent evidence to the contrary experienced in dreams and apparitions. There seems also to be a definite connexion with an absence of proper burial. These wandering ghosts are either 'bad deaths' who have been denied the usual rites, especially those (generally suicides or murdered) who have been buried with no ceremony at all, or (more rarely) the poor whose funeral-feasts have been neglected. The belief that this fate is the consequence of the absence of rites, rather than of the mode of death or social status of the deceased, is strengthened by psychological factors. The survivors are conscious that the dead man has been wronged by the neglect of his funeral-rites, and in the case of a murdered person by his death itself; they fear his revenge and expect his return to punish them, while the untimely end of the victim of violence makes no little impression upon suggestible minds. Such a ghost is prone to appear more often in dreams as though always nearer at hand than the soul of the ordinary man whose rites have been duly performed, thus apparently supplying evidence of his wandering state (cf. discussion of unnatural deaths on p. 123, &c.).

(b) *Separate divisions.* In South Melanesia, where rank in the afterworld is denoted by the number of pigs, &c., at the funeral feast,<sup>1</sup> there is also some attempt to divide up the ghosts according to other categories, although also unconnected with ritual. In the Banks Islands and Pentecost (New Hebrides) there are special compartments according to manner of death, but none seem to be worse off than the rest or to have different

<sup>1</sup> Codrington (22), 268, 285; Watt Leggatt (180), 701.

rites. (There is however some idea of a bad place also called *Panoi* for violent deaths, who wander back to earth and harm the living.<sup>1</sup>) In Aurora it is purely a matter of full tribal status, i. e. those who are not tatued or have not had their ears pierced, may not partake of good food and water respectively,<sup>2</sup> just as similarly disqualified souls are sent to a special afterworld in Malecula,<sup>3</sup> or kept out altogether in Efate.<sup>4</sup> (The margin between a special division and a special afterworld is very narrow, and far less distinct than it appears on paper.)

In Indonesia on the other hand there is a very general idea that those who have suffered violent deaths, and consequently mutilated funeral rites, have a special village in the land of the dead, only very bad deaths being shut out altogether, as for instance among the Toradja of Celebes, in Nias, and among the Sea-Dyaks, Olo Ngadjoe, Kayan, and Milano of Borneo (cf. p. 124). All these peoples have very elaborate eschatological beliefs, while more primitive tribes such as the inhabitants of the eastern islands of the Malay Archipelago are content merely to exclude all undesirables from the general afterworld.

This belief in separate divisions seems sometimes to have led to modifications of funeral rites in Borneo. Among the Milano (formerly) several slaves were killed at the tomb of a chief, and because if the victims died a violent death their souls would not go to the same place and would thus be of no service, they were allowed to die from exposure to the sun while bound to the tomb<sup>5</sup> (cf. p. 196). This Milano practice, with its mock-battle at the grave,<sup>6</sup> probably originated in the substitution of a slave for a raid to avenge the death, as sometimes happens among the Berawan;<sup>7</sup> and the idea that the slave is for use hereafter is a natural explanation, the starvation being possibly a more recent substitute for the spearing in order to conform with the belief in the separation of the ghosts in *Apu Kesio* according to manner of death.

(c) *Inner Circle*. Another form of soul-sorting is the belief in an 'inner circle' for the favoured few, as in the Tube-Tube (Slade Island in South Massim) land of the dead: here the ghosts

<sup>1</sup> Codrington (22), 274-6, 288.

<sup>2</sup> Codrington (22), 280.

<sup>3</sup> Watt Leggatt (180), 701.

<sup>4</sup> Somerville (159), 10.

<sup>5</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 46; De Crespigny (26), 35; Ling Roth (95), i. 141.

<sup>6</sup> Furness (43), 141.

<sup>7</sup> Furness (43), 91-6, 140.

themselves determine who shall be amongst the select, while those in the outer circle see their happy state but may not enter, and the very bad have no rest or sleep but are constantly walking to and fro in the earth<sup>1</sup> (i. e. shut out altogether). The 'Island of Fruits' of the Eastern Semang is divided into three tiers, the highest filled with fruit trees and inhabited by the greater personages of mythology, while the lowest has nothing but low-brooding clouds which bring sickness to mankind.<sup>2</sup> This is a variation (with a certain amount of Malay influence) of the separate divisions found elsewhere, and is unconnected with ritual. By far the commonest form of 'circles' is that in which the spirit-land is divided into stages, as in New Zealand, &c., through which the soul passes, sinking deeper and deeper and gradually losing its faculties, until it finally disappears altogether (cf. p. 149).

Thus punishment within the afterworld itself is totally unconnected with ritual, except as regards violent deaths in Indonesia, where it coincides with mutilated rites. As it exists side by side with the idea that a large death-feast means importance in the next world as in this, the connexion between the incomplete burial and the separation in the spirit-land is taken for granted; and in the case of the Milano slave it has even reacted back again from the belief to the rite, modifying the latter to fit in with the former. An interesting attempt to find a justification for such punishment of those who die by violence is recorded from the Kayan-Bahau, who say that the god *Tamei Tingei* decides the fate of men while upon earth, according to their manner of death; those who have transgressed human or divine *adat* (tribal custom) suffer bad luck or become ill, while if the gods are very angry, they let the guilty ones die in battle or kill themselves, or (in the case of women) die in childbirth.<sup>3</sup> Here is the beginning of the belief in a divine justice, which overtakes transgressors in this life, and punishes the obdurate in the world to come.

The nature of the afterlife has three aspects, namely, as an idealized continuance of this life, as a shadowy and unreal (and

<sup>1</sup> Field (38), 444.    <sup>2</sup> Martin (109), 952; Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 207.

<sup>3</sup> Nieuwenhuis (122), i. 102.



hence gloomy) existence, and as a reflection of earth in its conditions and social order. On the whole this last is the predominating feature of eschatological belief in the area under consideration, and the spirit-land becomes more or less a copy of this world, generally somewhat idealized. The underground *Panoi* (and its variants) of South Melanesia, which is thought of as dark and unreal, is the chief exception.

Apart from grave-gifts or funeral feasts, and mutilated burial for unnatural deaths, there is little connexion between the life in the spirit-land and the funerary ceremonies, though in isolated cases such practices as funeral-fires or placing food on the grave may be reinterpreted in the light of the current conception of the ghostly life and its requirements.

A negative state of punishment, and likewise the rarely found inferior afterworld, representing the fate of those who fail to pass the admission-test, is definitely connected with bad deaths and special rites, and among those more developed peoples who have an elaborate spirit-land with separate divisions is reserved for particularly bad deaths with (probably) complete absence of funerary ritual, and sometimes even no burial at all. This is the most primitive 'place of punishment', and affords an easy interpretation of the phenomena of haunting, besides accounting for all the souls who are shut out of the home of the dead. Thus it disposes of 'lost souls' without any elaborate theory of annihilation or separate afterworlds, and furnishes a satisfactory explanation of the supposed wandering and general malignancy of these ghosts.

Punishment within the afterworld itself (except in the case of unnatural deaths with mutilated rites) is properly unconnected with ritual, any separation of souls being merely 'a result of rather than a compensation or retribution for, his condition during life'.<sup>1</sup> But among certain peoples (e. g. Tahitians, Berawan and Sea-Dyaks of Borneo, &c.) where priests have taken charge of the ceremonial, full enjoyment of the hereafter has acquired an artificial dependence upon the proper performance of certain rites, whereby the priests grow rich and extend their power.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. ii, p. 84.

## XII

### ANNIHILATION

#### § I. *For All.*

THE negation of any kind of future life is almost entirely absent among the peoples in the area under consideration, there being only one case (the Mountain Mangyans of Mindoro in the Philippines) where such a belief is definitely reported. The missionary Murray, who had travelled all across the Pacific, and through East Melanesia and New Guinea, says: 'I have never found in all my wanderings among savage tribes any who had not some idea of a future life, and of beings superior to themselves.'<sup>1</sup> Other authors state that they have been unable to trace any belief in immortality (e. g. Mr. Routledge in Easter Island),<sup>2</sup> but this is merely negative evidence, and may be due to the difficulty in eliciting information of this nature, or to the disappearance of such ideas after contact with higher religions, while in some instances subsequent observers have been more fortunate in their investigations, and have been able to supply the omission.

Of the Mountain Mangyans Worcester says: 'All the tribe with whom we talked emphatically denied any belief in a future life. As the headman of this clearing tersely put it, 'When a Mangyan is dead, he is *dead*!' These people are very primitive, and appeared to have no words for god or gods, and there was no evidence of idolatry or any kind of worship among them.'<sup>3</sup> It is, however, possible that they possessed some vague animistic ideas of the type of those held by the Zambales Negritos of Luzon, or the most primitive Alferu tribes of Ceram (cf. p. 56), which Worcester failed to discover. Their burial rites are very simple, a dying man being abandoned by the others, who return later and bury the body in the woods with a fence and thatched enclosure as a protection.<sup>4</sup>

Among some of the more backward mixed Jakun tribes of the

<sup>1</sup> Murray (116), 500.

<sup>2</sup> Worcester (193), 412.

<sup>3</sup> Routledge (141), 239.

<sup>4</sup> Worcester (193), 411-12.

Malay Peninsula, investigators have not been able to discover any belief in a life after death. The Orang Laut of Sabimba (extremity of the Peninsula) are a specially miserable tribe of forest nomads, with no canoes or cultivation, and dependent upon the Malays for most of their food. Like the Mountain Mangyans of Mindoro, they abandon the dying, and, returning later when they think all is over, inter the corpse in the Malay fashion, after which they leave the spot and wander to other parts. They are said to have no religion.<sup>1</sup> Possibly these degraded peoples, who have been pushed into the interior by the Malays, but, according to their tradition, once lived in the land of the Bugis and were agricultural, have lost any primitive animistic ideas they possessed, and Malay burial has been superimposed upon their own simple method of abandonment and rude interment in the forest. Similar negative accounts are given of the Orang Bukit, aborigines of Sungei Ujong<sup>2</sup> and the Orang Laut at Sletar.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, a further investigation might have disclosed some sort of belief. In 1847 Logan wrote thus of the Binuás (i. e. Benua) of the Upper Johore (Hill Jakun): 'All my endeavours to detect the existence . . . of a recognition of a future life were fruitless; and yet I can hardly bring myself to believe that it is entirely wanting, seeing that their religious notions have evidently been derived from other nations who believe in the translation of the soul to another world or its transmigration in the present.'<sup>4</sup> Whereas Newbold, writing some years previously (1839) of the same people, records the belief that the spirits of the good travel towards the west, and are absorbed into the effulgence of the setting sun, while the souls of the bad are devoured by spectres at the grave, and those of *poyangs* (medicine men) enter the bodies of tigers.<sup>5</sup> Though the Malay influence here is evident, it shows that the Benua were not so entirely devoid of eschatological beliefs as Logan imagined, and had probably adopted these as a substitute for some vaguer notions of their own.

Thus we have only one authenticated instance of the denial of any future life, and doubtful reports from some degraded

<sup>1</sup> Logan (98), 295-7; Thomson (170), 347\*-9\*; Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Knocker (81), 293.

<sup>3</sup> Logan (97), 279.

<sup>4</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 115, 370.

<sup>5</sup> Newbold (120), ii. 387-90.

Jakun peoples. The rites of these tribes seem to be of the nomadic forest-dweller type, viz. abandonment before death, with subsequent interment, and removal to a new camp; as these are often associated with animistic beliefs in the presence of the dead 'somewhere near', it is possible that some such vague notions existed also among these peoples (cf. p. 55, &c.).

## § 2. *For Certain People.*

(a) *Those of low rank.* In Polynesia commoners are of so little importance that they are often considered as having no souls and therefore no future life, and, according to Sir Basil Thomson, this is the pure Polynesian doctrine.<sup>1</sup> Thus in Tonga only nobles and *Matabooles* (inferior nobles) inhabit the beautiful island-Paradise of *Bolo'too*, while *Tooas* (lower class) have no souls, or only such as dissolve with the body after death, there being no clear distinction between life and soul.<sup>2</sup> In this they are strongly contrasted with the Fijians, who extend immortality to the souls of all mankind, animals, plants, and minerals; but the Tongans are 'unwilling to think that the residence of the gods should be encumbered with so much . . . rubbish'.<sup>3</sup> In Tahiti (and also Hawaii) only the souls of the *Areois* and priests escape being eaten by the gods after death.<sup>4</sup> But it seems doubtful whether this 'eating by the gods' is true annihilation, as, according to Ellis, this takes place in *Po* (the nobles having gone to *Miru*), the spirit passing through the god, and 'if it underwent this process of being eaten . . . three . . . times, it became a deified or imperishable spirit, might visit the world, and inspire others'.<sup>5</sup> From this it seems difficult to ascertain the exact force of the idea of being eaten by a god or (in Tonga) bird, but it does not necessarily imply extinction. The chief point is that this fate of commoners is a gloomy one, from which priests and nobles can escape, and this has given an opportunity to the Tahitian priesthood to insist on the necessity for highly paid ceremonial to secure this end, which was primarily merely a question of rank (cf. pp. 118, 80), the burial-customs of the two orders being quite distinct, namely, preservation for chiefs, and interment in the

<sup>1</sup> Thomson (167), 341.

<sup>2</sup> Mariner (107), ii. 105, 110-11, 135.

<sup>3</sup> Mariner (107), ii. 137.

<sup>4</sup> Ellis (32), 342.

<sup>5</sup> Ellis (33), i. 397.



sitting-position for commoners.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere in Polynesia there is a special inferior afterworld for those of lower rank.

Thus the evidence for the annihilation at death of the souls of those of low rank is somewhat unsatisfactory, and of a negative nature, derived from the supreme unimportance of such people in this life, whose future fate is not worth considering. It seems probable, however, that as this great difference in rank is due to racial causes in Polynesia, the earlier population had originally an afterworld (as well as distinct burial-rites) of their own, which has been lost, and which survives in Samoa and elsewhere as a special place for commoners (cf. p. 45, &c.)

(b) *The Disqualified*. The complete destruction of the soul on failing to pass the admission-test is fairly common, especially when that ordeal takes the form of a bridge from which it falls into a river or fire below. Thus in Yap the 'bad' soul falls into the river and disappears for ever,<sup>2</sup> in Ysabel (Solomon Islands) those without the frigate-bird tribal mark fall off the bridge and perish,<sup>3</sup> the Semang, Sakai, and Besis of the Malay Peninsula fall from a chopper or bridge into a boiling lake,<sup>4</sup> and the unqualified among the Kayans and Punans of Borneo,<sup>5</sup> the Battak of Padang Lawas<sup>6</sup> (Sumatra), in Nias<sup>7</sup> and in Halmahera (Moluccas)<sup>8</sup> suffer a similar fate.

But this idea of complete and immediate destruction seems to present difficulties to the primitive mind, and is very often modified in some form or other. Thus in the Trobriand Islands (N. Massim) the soul which could not pay the fee (represented by the grave-gifts) to the guardian of *Tuma* would be banished into the sea and become a fish, though this danger does not loom large in the native mind,<sup>9</sup> and at Kwato (at the eastern extremity of British New Guinea) the soul whose feet slip as it crosses the snake-bridge to *Biula* (from weakness due to insufficiency of food at the death-feast) meets with a like fate.<sup>10</sup>

In these cases the annihilation of the 'bad' soul is often linked up with rites, especially as regards the proper performance of the funeral-feast with an adequate provision of grave-gifts; but the

<sup>1</sup> Ellis (33), i. 399-401.    <sup>2</sup> Christian (21), 385.    <sup>3</sup> Codrington (22), 257.

<sup>4</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 194, 208, 240, 299.

<sup>5</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 41, 44; Nieuwenhuis (122), i. 104.

<sup>6</sup> Kruijt (83), 362.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (83), 355, 362; De Zwaan (196), 125-6.

<sup>8</sup> Kruijt (83), 361.

<sup>9</sup> Malinowski (105), 360.

<sup>10</sup> Abel (1), 97-8.

true significance goes farther back to the original basis of the admission-qualification, resting on rank, status, or manner of death, which the rites only complete or ratify. This has been fully discussed already (cf. p. 118, &c.).

### § 3. *After Lapse of Time.*

Among the majority of peoples the life of the soul in the afterworld is not eternal, but after a certain period it too perishes. In many cases this is probably because the spirit-land is conceived of as a reflection of this life, where people die as they do here (cf. pp. 137-8), but it may also be partly due to the difficulty in grasping such an abstract concept as immortality. Sometimes, then, the soul gradually loses its powers until it ceases to exist; sometimes it becomes subject to some process of transmigration, and enters an animal or plant.

(a) *Extinction.* According to Maori belief the afterworld *Reinga* contained several stages, and people died again and passed from one stage to another by successive deaths, the darkness deepening and their faculties gradually diminishing as they descended, until, when the darkness was complete, some of them returned to earth as worms, flies, &c., which eventually died and ceased to exist.<sup>1</sup> Taylor does not mention the reincarnation as insects, but describes the lowest compartment of 'Hades' as the worst, without light or food, in which the ghosts gradually pined away and were annihilated.<sup>2</sup> In Wedau and Wamira (Good-enough Bay, British New Guinea) there is feasting, dancing, plenty of food, and some fighting in the afterlife; if the soul should be killed during this fighting, 'then it is the end, there is no more life for such.'<sup>3</sup> The Papuans of Bongoe (ex-German New Guinea) believe in the final death and extinction of the soul,<sup>4</sup> as also do the Kai of Huon Gulf (ex-German New Guinea),<sup>5</sup> the natives of Efate<sup>6</sup> (New Hebrides) and the Toba-Battak of Sumatra;<sup>7</sup> while among the Sea-Dyaks of Borneo,<sup>8</sup> and the Toradja of Celebes,<sup>9</sup> the soul dies several times, becoming eventually air, fog, a jungle-plant (Sea-Dyaks), or a drop of water (Toradja).

<sup>1</sup> Wohlers (190), 111-12; White (183), 361.

<sup>2</sup> Newton (121), 220.

<sup>4</sup> Kruijt (83), 385.

<sup>3</sup> Taylor (166), 231.

<sup>5</sup> Keysser (77), iii. 112

<sup>6</sup> Macdonald (102), 730.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (83), 384.

<sup>8</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 213.

<sup>9</sup> Kruijt (83), 383.

(b) *Reincarnation in animal-form.* In several of the above instances the soul becomes an animal or insect before its final extinction, but in many other cases this would seem to be its final form.

Such is the case as regards those who fail to pass the admission test in the Trobriands, Kwato, Nias, and among the Karo-Battak, &c. (cf. p. 148). The Toradja soul, after dying several times in the afterworld, finally returns to earth as a black ant (the latter is a sacred animal, and never killed);<sup>1</sup> and the Bontoc Igorots of Luzon believe that when souls die they become snakes, rocks, or generally the phosphorescent glow in the dead wood of the mountains.<sup>2</sup> These beliefs are possibly an elaborated form of primitive animistic ideas, influenced by, if not actually confused with, the so-called 'soul-substance theory' (cf. pp. 61-2), in which animals and plants play so large a part. They are found in a simpler form among the Huon Gulf tribes of ex-German New Guinea. Thus, some Tami say that souls die and become insects, and others that they become wood-spirits,<sup>3</sup> while the Jabim have very vague ideas, but believe that at night the woods are full of ghosts whom they identify with small birds.<sup>4</sup> These beliefs bear a strong resemblance to those of the Mafulu Pygmies of the interior of British New Guinea, where young ghosts become the shimmering light upon the ground and undergrowth which occurs here and there where the dense forest of the mountains is penetrated by the sun's beams, and older ones a sort of poisonous fungus which is indigenous to the mountains, and only found there. Both these things are carefully avoided by the natives, who pass round them, and avoid touching them.<sup>5</sup>

Elsewhere the idea of transmigration may be distinctly traced to foreign influence. Among the Sakai-Jakun of the Tekai River (Malay Peninsula) souls of the dead become white butterflies which may not be killed, which is similar to the Burmese belief, and therefore probably Indo-Chinese; these people also have an underworld.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, such beliefs in Nias, Sumatra, and Borneo have probably been influenced by Hin-

<sup>1</sup> Grubauer (49), 269.

<sup>2</sup> Bammler (4), iii. 514.

<sup>3</sup> Williamson (189), 281. Cf. Appendix III.

<sup>4</sup> Jenks (74), 197.

<sup>5</sup> Zahn (195), iii. 324.

<sup>6</sup> Evans (36), 196.

duism and Buddhism, through which cremation has been introduced among some Dyaks, Battak, and Balinese.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the final extinction, or reincarnation in some lower form, of the soul after a lapse of time, seems in no way connected with ritual or with practices performed by the survivors, although the length of the intervening period may be connected with psychological causes depending on the memory of the living, as will now be shown.

#### § 4. *Dependent on the Living.*

There are a few isolated instances where the future existence of the soul is directly dependent upon the survivors. In Tamana (Rotch Island) in the Gilbert Islands, the soul's fate is decided by pessomancy. Immediately after a death the living cast lots about the spirit's destiny; if the small pebbles used turned out 'odds', then the soul at the horizon was crushed between two stones and blotted out of existence; if 'evens' the soul passed on to the afterworld *Mane*. The dying were urgent in begging those around them to make this performance to go all right, and so secure an entrance to Paradise.<sup>2</sup> Here the natives evidently now consider that this ceremony determines their fate in the hereafter. But is it not possible that this pessomancy was originally only a kind of divination by which the future might be read, and had in itself no influence upon the entrance to *Mane*, and that eventually, as has happened so often in higher religions, the ceremony came to be imbued with special efficacy, and to be considered as the directing power through which the desired result might actually be attained? This is, moreover, the only instance of this kind, whereas the taking of omens immediately after death is extremely common, and the stones may represent the bones of the deceased used for this purpose by other peoples. Thus, in the neighbouring Marshall Islands, sorcerers are called *Drikanen*, which means 'bones-prophet'; (*dri* = bones, *man*, *kanen* = foretell) and ghosts (who are worshipped) often live in stones<sup>3</sup> (cf. p. 57), and in the Gilbert Islands skulls are used for sacred purposes, and adorned and offered food;<sup>4</sup> while in Mortlock and Ruk they are replaced by images, used for divina-

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 338.

<sup>2</sup> Finsch (39), iii. 139-40.

<sup>3</sup> Turner (176), 294.

<sup>4</sup> Finsch (39), iii. 47.



tion,<sup>1</sup> as among the Papuans, &c., of Dutch New Guinea and in the South-East Malay Archipelago. In the Pelew Islands a special bouquet called the *Sis* is made, and used for divination to find out the cause of death, and the taro planted near the grave is considered as an omen for those left behind.<sup>2</sup> The spinning of a coco-nut in Tonga in order to ascertain the fate of a sick man,<sup>3</sup> bears a family likeness to this casting of pebbles in the Gilbert Islands, and one of the typical forms of divination in the diagnosis of disease among the Malays is the taking of omens from coins thrown into water-jars.<sup>4</sup>

Elsewhere there seems to be a strong belief that the existence of the soul in the land of the dead is connected with the memory of the survivors. Thus, in the Solomon Islands, it is believed that ghostly life is not eternal, but that mere *akalo* (ghosts of ordinary people) soon turn into white ants' nests, and become the food of still vigorous ghosts. The *lio'a* (ghosts of power) last longer, because they have *saka* (i. e. mana), and the more *saka* the longer they last. 'They are remembered and worshipped on earth, and so long their strength remains; but when men forget them and turn to worship some more lately dead, and when no sacrificial food is offered them, their power fades away, and they turn into white ants' nests like the others.'<sup>5</sup> The Koita of British New Guinea also believe that at length the *sua* (souls) in the spirit-land weaken and utterly cease to exist, and on this subject Professor Seligman remarks: 'Perhaps the period of their existence is the time during which their memory or the memory of their names is retained on earth, for some Gaila men, discussing this subject suggested that when their names were lost, they also must have vanished.'<sup>6</sup> The name is so important a part of a man among primitive peoples, that the death of a soul being caused by its loss would seem a very natural consequence. In Ceram, too, this idea prevails, and they say that the *nitu* (souls) of those who have died a century ago, and who are no longer dreamed about, disappear in the sky.<sup>7</sup> Possibly this idea is more general than has been reported, as among the majority of peoples the soul's life in the spirit-land is not eternal,

<sup>1</sup> Finsch (39), iii. 319-21.

<sup>2</sup> Mariner (107), ii. 239.

<sup>3</sup> Codrington (22), 261.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (83), 384-5.

<sup>2</sup> Kubary (85), 9-10.

<sup>4</sup> Skeat (151), 409, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Seligman (146), 190.

and the length of this period may well be determined by some such psychological factor, although we have no information to this effect.

The supposed dependence on ritual, of which we have such abundant evidence, is not really dependence on the survivors, but on the dead man's own qualifications, which primarily determine the nature of the burial rites (cf. p. 125, &c.).

The idea of immortality is one that seems even more difficult for the primitive mind to conceive than that of immediate annihilation, though we have a few isolated instances. Thus the soul of the Montes of Mindanao (Philippines) gives one leap from Mt. Bolotucan, and reaches heaven at a higher or lower level according to its life on earth (perhaps foreign influence here), and wherever it lands there it remains to all eternity.<sup>1</sup> The East Semang believe that souls stay in 'Paradise' for ever, never returning to earth<sup>2</sup> (but of course this may be due to Malay influence), and in Tube-Tube in Slade Island (S. Massim) we are told that souls in the spirit-land do not get old or die. In the latter case it is rather an amplification of the delights of an idealized existence than a philosophical tenet, the home of the dead being free from all sickness, evil spirits, death or fighting.<sup>3</sup>

Annihilation for all is practically unknown, with the exception of the Mountain Mangyans of Mindoro, whose burial-rites are very simple, and who may possibly have a vague kind of animistic belief, like that of some other primitive nomads, which the investigator failed to discover. Elsewhere the evidence is purely negative. On the other hand, a belief in true immortality is extremely rare, and in most instances foreign influence may be suspected.

Otherwise two main groups may be distinguished :

(a) The disqualified.

(b) Souls which are destroyed after a certain time, of which transmigration into some lower form is often a modified form, or a stage in the final disintegration of the individual.

(a) *The destruction of the disqualified soul* which is denied

<sup>1</sup> Sawyer (144), 347.

<sup>2</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 218.

<sup>3</sup> Seligman (146), 657; Field (38), 443-4.

admission to the afterworld is often connected with funeral rites, the absence or incompleteness of which makes entrance impossible. But these rites are fundamentally the ratification of the dead person's initial qualifications for the spirit-land; although the fate of the body has so much influence upon the fate of the soul that lack of burial often becomes in itself a fatal obstacle to admission (cf. p. 130).

(b) *The limited immortality of souls* in the spirit-land seems to rest on psychological grounds, and in some instances is actually stated to depend upon the memory of the survivors; possibly this is the determining factor in many other cases. The ideas of transmigration and degradation are, moreover, easier to grasp and more in accordance with primitive notions than that of sudden annihilation, especially among peoples where the 'soul-substance' belief is found. This limited immortality is in no way connected with ritual.

The practice of deciding the fate of the dead man by personancy in the Gilbert Islands stands alone, and may be the reinterpretation of a form of divination.

### XIII

#### DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

CERTAIN peculiar methods of disposal are of special interest, either because they appear in themselves to be associated with certain beliefs, or because they have been attributed to some particular race or culture. Thus disposal in trees is sufficiently remarkable to arouse speculation as to its origin and influence upon eschatology, cremation has a peculiar distribution and finds a place in Dr. Rivers's scheme of culture-complexes in Oceania, and the Polynesian varieties of desiccation and embalming seem to be linked up with migration and beliefs about the future life.

Most other curious methods of disposal can, however, be definitely traced to topographical conditions. Thus the Agai-Ambu, a lake-dwelling tribe of the swamps of the Upper Barigi River in the hinterland behind Cape Nelson (North East Coast of British New Guinea), who hardly ever walk on dry land, tie their dead bodies to poles in the middle of the lake,<sup>1</sup> and the Bulaa of Hood Point, who live in pile-dwellings in the water, expose corpses in canoes anchored off the village.<sup>2</sup> In New Zealand burial in swamps, lagoons, and pools, where the body is swallowed up in the mud and hidden by water-plants, is occasionally practised, chiefly in the Matatua District, where it is the best method of concealment in open country, and when the famous Winiata of the Maori Native Contingent was slain at Taupo, he was buried in the bed of a stream to preserve his remains from desecration by enemies;<sup>3</sup> while in Borneo methods of disposal tend to vary according to the local conditions, people in swampy lowlands placing their dead in trees out of the reach of beasts of prey, and those in the mountains choosing caves and so forth.<sup>4</sup>

The disposal of bodies in an upright position comes under the same category. The sporadic distribution and the details of this practice show it to be merely incidental to the particular form of burial, or to topographical conditions, so that it can hardly

<sup>1</sup> Walker (179), 176, 179.

<sup>2</sup> E. Best (9), 193, 227.

<sup>3</sup> Guise (50), 210.

<sup>4</sup> Furness (43), 143.



belong to any one people or culture,\* or be connected with any special belief. In most cases it is found together with tree-burial, and is the natural posture when the corpse is placed inside a hollow tree (New Caledonia,<sup>1</sup> Olo Ot of south-east Borneo,<sup>2</sup> &c.), or fastened to a tree-trunk, as in the Chatham Islands<sup>3</sup> and among the Benua<sup>4</sup> of the Malay Peninsula. The Mantra interment in the erect position<sup>5</sup> may well be derived from a practice similar to that of their neighbours the Benua, viz. fastening the corpse to the trunk of a tree (cf. p. 159). Where the body is tied to the house-post (Torres Straits Islands<sup>6</sup>) or suspended on the side of the hut (Marquesas<sup>7</sup>), the erect position is the most convenient; and upright sea-burial is probably due to the weighting of the feet with stones in order to sink the body (Duke of York Island and probably South New Ireland<sup>8</sup>). The Ysabel custom of placing a chief's body upright in a deep grave filled up to his neck, with fires lighted round his head, until the skull is removed,<sup>9</sup> is evidently done in order to collect the latter more easily, as elsewhere in the Solomons, the head is often left exposed or near the surface in a similar fashion, while the body is interred in the sitting posture.<sup>10</sup>

### § I. *Disposal in Trees.*

It will be found convenient to distinguish two kinds of disposal in trees:

(1) *Tree-exposure*, in which the dead body is placed in the branches of a tree, sometimes on a platform, or within the hollow trunk.

(2) *Final tree-burial*, used for secondary burial, when a tree becomes the last resting-place for the bones.

\* Dr. Rivers has suggested that burial in an upright position is connected with the sun-cult, being a form of orientation towards the sky as the home of the dead; and that upright sea-burial may be a modification of ordinary sea-burial due to the influence of an immigrant cremating race possessing a sky afterworld belief, which had failed to introduce cremation, and only succeeded in modifying the native burial-form.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 548-51.

<sup>2</sup> Glaumont (46), 129.

<sup>3</sup> Schwaner (145), cxcvii.

<sup>4</sup> Dendy (29), 127-8; Travers (172), 23-4.

<sup>5</sup> Newbold (120), ii. 388.

<sup>6</sup> Borie (14), 82; Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 110.

<sup>7</sup> Myers and Haddon (56), 148.

<sup>8</sup> Melville (111), 216.

<sup>9</sup> Parkinson (123), 308; G. Brown (15) 386, 390; Pfeil (129), 80-1.

<sup>10</sup> Penny (125), 68.

<sup>11</sup> Somerville (160), 403; Codrington (22), 257.

(a) *Tree-exposure*. The exposure of corpses upon the branches of trees, or occasionally in hollow trunks, is found chiefly among interior tribes and nomadic bush-peoples. Thus some New Caledonian tribes, especially in the interior, place the corpse upon a platform at the top of a tree where it is abandoned to the elements, or sometimes put it upright within the trunk of some large tree, a custom which is now dying out.<sup>1</sup> This method of disposal in trees is also customary among the Mafulu Negritoës of British New Guinea (for chiefs),<sup>2</sup> the Bulaa of Hood Point,<sup>3</sup> the Mountain Alferu of Ratu (Ceram),<sup>4</sup> the inland Balinese,<sup>5</sup> the Orang-Kubu—forest people—of Sumatra,<sup>6</sup> the nomadic Punan and Olo Ot of Borneo,<sup>7</sup> in Timor,<sup>8</sup> and in Selaru, Timorlaut (important people).<sup>9</sup>

In Borneo disposal in trees was probably more common formerly. The Olo Ot and Punan of the inaccessible mountains of the Upper Manketan and Barito River basins bury their dead erect within tree-trunks, the bark being replaced over the aperture so that no visible trace remains;<sup>10</sup> and this may well have been the aboriginal practice, of which the suspension of medicine-men from trees in the cemetery by the Sea-Dyaks<sup>11</sup> is a survival (cf. disposal in trees for medicine-men in the Malay Peninsula, pp. 156, 159). Traces of it appear in the present funeral customs among the Klemantans,<sup>12</sup> &c., the non-Kayan burial-post (*klirieng* or *jerunei*) probably representing a tree (cf. p. 196 n.).

Platform-exposure is probably in many cases derived from disposal in trees, as in tree-exposure the corpse is generally placed on a platform in the tree (New Caledonia, Bulaa, Andamanese, Tagbanuas, &c.). Moreover, poles replace trees if there are none of convenient size among the Patani of the Malay Peninsula;<sup>13</sup> while the Mafulu platform obviously represents a tree, and if the former falls down during exposure, the corpse is often de-

<sup>1</sup> Glaumont (46), 127-9; Sarasin (143), 97, 171; Legrand (92), 55.

<sup>2</sup> Williamson (189), 277, 279; id. (187), 257.

<sup>3</sup> Guise (50), 210.

<sup>4</sup> Bastian (6), i. 150.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (83), 337.

<sup>6</sup> Bastian (6), iii. 64-5.

<sup>7</sup> Wilken (184), 302; Schwaner (145), cxcvii.

<sup>8</sup> Wilken (184), 302.

<sup>9</sup> Riedel (136), 306.

<sup>10</sup> Schwaner (145), cxcvii; Wilken (184), 302.

<sup>11</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 205.

<sup>12</sup> Ling Roth (94), 123-4; id. (95), i. 152, 157; Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 48; Furness (43), 143.

<sup>13</sup> Annandale and Robinson (3), ii. 84.

posited in a tree instead.<sup>1</sup> Also, as we shall see directly, exposure on a platform is very frequently alternative to disposal in trees.

It has been suggested by Williamson that disposal in trees for chiefs may be one of the characteristics of Negritoes, as besides occurring among the Mafulu of British New Guinea, it seems to be customary for important people among the Andamanese and the Semang.<sup>2</sup> Certainly from other sources we find that tree-exposure, or its derivative platform-exposure, seems to be the most honourable burial-form among the Andamanese,<sup>3</sup> and for medicine-men among the Semang,<sup>4</sup> and probably (formerly) the Benua<sup>5</sup> and perhaps the Mantra (cf. pp. 156 and 159). It does not occur however as far as we know among the Zambales Negritoes of Luzon.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, disposal in trees seems formerly to have been very widespread throughout the wilder nomadic tribes of Indonesia and West Melanesia, and is still alternative to exposure upon a platform in the Kandass District of South New Ireland and in the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain,<sup>7</sup> in Sclaru and other parts of Timorlaut,<sup>8</sup> and among some Mountain Alferu (Ceram),<sup>9</sup> the Tagbanuas of Palawan, &c. (by choice<sup>10</sup> instead of cave-burial or interment), the Orang Kubu of Sumatra,<sup>11</sup> the Andamanese,<sup>12</sup> the Mafulu,<sup>13</sup> and the Samsams (= Orang Laut), Patalung, and Patani of the Malay Peninsula.<sup>14</sup> The Sea-Dyaks of Borneo have tree-exposure for medicine-men, ordinary people generally being interred, but some 'eccentric individuals' dislike being put underground, and at their request are laid on an open platform<sup>15</sup> (i. e. probably a survival of an older form). That tree-exposure is probably the more ancient custom is shown by its being the more honourable method, now confined to chiefs and medicine-men (e.g. among the Mafulu, Andamanese Semang, Benua, Sea-Dyaks, in Timorlaut, &c.), or by special choice among the Tagbanuas, or resorted to in epidemics as

<sup>1</sup> Williamson (187), 258.

<sup>2</sup> Williamson (187), 257-8, 305-6.

<sup>3</sup> Man (106), 76-7; A. R. Brown (197), 107, 287.

<sup>4</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 91, 208, 218; Martin (109), 952.

<sup>5</sup> Newbold (120), ii. 388.

<sup>6</sup> Stephen and Graebner (163), 117, 178.

<sup>7</sup> Reed (134), 61.

<sup>8</sup> Bastian (6), i. 150.

<sup>9</sup> Sawyer (144), 313; Worcester (193), 495.

<sup>10</sup> Bastian (6), iii. 65.

<sup>11</sup> Man (106), 76-7; A. R. Brown (197), 107.

<sup>12</sup> Williamson (187), 256-8; id. (189), 276-7.

<sup>13</sup> Annandale and Robinson (3), i. 59; ii. 83-4.

<sup>14</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 205.

among the semi-Mohammedanized Patani.<sup>1</sup> Certain other funeral practices seem to be survivals of former tree-exposure. Such are the suspending of corpses from a hut in a tree until final burial in Timor, where Wilken also reports true tree-burial in a hollow trunk,<sup>2</sup> the placing of important dead on a platform under a tree by the Alferu of Wahaai in Ceram whose neighbours have tree-exposure,<sup>3</sup> burial under trees in the Nicobars,<sup>4</sup> the hanging of bones and skulls on trees on the Upper Waria River in ex-German New Guinea<sup>5</sup> (compare Mafulu customs), and the placing of food for the dead man on a small platform on a tree in New Britain.<sup>6</sup>

Occasionally tree-exposure takes the form of burial in hollow trees, as in New Caledonia and in Borneo (cf. p. 157), but this is more usual in the case of final tree-burial. Another method is to bind the corpse to a tree-trunk, as among the Morioris of the Chatham Islands, where it is alternative to disposal in hollow trees.<sup>7</sup> The Benua (Malay Peninsula) magician was placed erect against the projection near the root of a large tree<sup>8</sup> (probably derived from some such form of tree-exposure or burial), and perhaps this was the kind of tree-disposal in use for medicine-men among the Semang (of which we have no details): it is also possible that burial in the upright position for certain adults (we are not told who) among the Mantra<sup>9</sup> is a survival of a similar practice (cf. p. 156).

(b) *Final tree-burial.* Final tree-burial generally takes the form of disposal in hollow trees, and is simply alternative to a cave, chasm, &c., as a secret resting-place for the final remains. Thus in New Zealand the exhumed bones are sometimes thrown into a hollow tree or put on a platform on a tree-top instead of in a cave.<sup>10</sup> In the Waimite Plains where there is no suitable place for final disposal, hollow-trees are used as temporary burial-places,<sup>11</sup> and the Tuhoe conceal their dead in the parasitic growth upon the branches of certain trees, a custom which

<sup>1</sup> Annandale and Robinson (3), ii. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Forbes (41), 435; Wilken (184), 302.

<sup>3</sup> Bastian (6), i. 148-50.

<sup>4</sup> Mouat (115), 327.

<sup>5</sup> Beaver (7), 268.

<sup>6</sup> G. Brown (15), 385.

<sup>7</sup> Travers (172), 23-4; Dendy (29), 127-8; Tregear (173), 75.

<sup>8</sup> Newbold (120), ii. 388.

<sup>9</sup> Borie (14), 82; Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 110.

<sup>10</sup> E. Best (9), 192, 198; Hamilton (60), 100; Taylor (166), 219-20; Mair (104), 38.

<sup>11</sup> E. Best (10), 111.



originated about thirteen generations ago.<sup>1</sup> The object here is certainly secrecy, which is so important among the Maori for fear of enemies insulting the bones.<sup>2</sup> Similarly in the Marquesas, instead of burial in inaccessible caves, skulls were sometimes hidden between the branches of fig-trees in consecrated places.<sup>3</sup> Sporadic instances occur elsewhere of trees as hiding-places for the final remains, as in Ambryn in the New Hebrides,<sup>4</sup> and among the Tolampu of Central Celebes.<sup>5</sup>

From this it appears that disposal in trees is chiefly due to topographical conditions. Thus tree-exposure occurs mostly among forest nomads and inland bush-peoples, and occasionally among peoples who can find no other suitable place for their dead like the Maori of the Waimate Plains, or the Kayan and Kenya of the swampy lowlands of Borneo in order to avoid beasts of prey; while final tree-burial is merely a convenient alternative to disposal of the bones in caves or other secret places.

As regards these forest nomads, it is true that most of them have very similar beliefs, of a vaguely animistic type, like the ghosts who become light in the forest and fungi among the Mafulu,<sup>6</sup> or live in woods and rocks among the Mountain Alferu,<sup>7</sup> and in the forest according to the Orang-Kubu;<sup>8</sup> and probably similar ideas prevailed among many of the other primitive tribes, such as the Semang, Olo Ot, Punan, &c., before they adopted the more definite beliefs of their more advanced neighbours. But this type of afterworld is characteristic of people in a semi-nomadic condition and of a low stage of culture (cf. p. 56); and though both it and disposal in trees are frequently found together, it is more probable that each is severally the result of environment and primitive conditions, and that they are otherwise unconnected with each other.

## § 2. *Cremation.*

It has been suggested by Dr. Rivers that cremation in Oceania is associated with a second (probably later) immigration of megalithic builders, who possessed a developed cult of the sun,

<sup>1</sup> E. Best (9), 189-91.

<sup>2</sup> Bässler (5), 225-6.

<sup>3</sup> Grubauer (49), 442.

<sup>4</sup> Bastian (6), i. 149, 154.

<sup>5</sup> White (182), iii. 233.

<sup>6</sup> Codrington (22), 288.

<sup>7</sup> Williamson (189), 281; id. (187), 267.

<sup>8</sup> Bastian (6), iii. 65.

bird-totemism, and a belief that the dead go to the sun or to some other part of the sky.<sup>1</sup> So far, however, he has not been able to collect much positive evidence, as the sky-afterworld does not occur in Bougainville, Shortland Island, Malaita, or New Ireland, the centre of the cremating people, while in the Marquesas and Society Islands, where there is probably a sky-afterworld, cremation is absent. New Zealand is, moreover, the only place in Polynesia where cremation occurs, and then under special circumstances unconnected with belief, and even here the sky-belief is said to be of modern origin and due to missionary influence.<sup>2</sup>

In the area under consideration, cremation is very rare, and is found only in three definite areas, namely in Western Indonesia, where it is due to Hindu and Buddhist influences which have modified the native practices, in New Zealand, and in the New Britain Archipelago and West Solomons.

(a) *Maori*. In New Zealand we are informed by Hamilton that cremation was extensively practised in the South Island,<sup>3</sup> and Taylor says that it was not uncommon to burn the final remains, which was called the *tahunga* or burning.<sup>4</sup> Elsdon Best however explains that it was never a general practice, but only found under certain circumstances. Thus in open country, e. g. among the Ngati-apa tribe of the Waimate Plains, wherein were found no suitable places for the final disposal of the bones after exhumation, the latter were collected from their temporary resting-place in the ground or tree, and burned with fire after a ritual feast (probably what Taylor describes). Again, if numbers of a raiding-party died outside their tribal boundaries, their bodies would sometimes be burnt to prevent the bones being made into fish-hooks by enemies. Occasionally cremation was practised to stay the spread of disease, as in the Bay of Plenty District where bodies of people who died of *kai uaua* (probably consumption) were burned in order to prevent the spread of the malady, and all ashes carefully buried.<sup>5</sup> This last case looks like removal of the tabu which is especially connected with deaths from a mysterious disease.

There is no evidence of any connexion with an afterworld in

<sup>1</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 546, 549-51, 580.

<sup>2</sup> E. Best (9), 231.

<sup>3</sup> Hamilton (60), 100.

<sup>4</sup> Taylor (166), 220.

<sup>5</sup> E. Best (10), 110-12.

the sky, even if the existence of such a belief among the Maori be conceded (cf. p. 81), nor with any other form of belief, but the practice seems to be entirely due to special circumstances or topographical conditions.\*

(b) *Solomon Islands and New Ireland*. Cremation is general in the Solomon Islands for chiefs, especially in South Bougainville, Shortland and Treasury Islands, New Georgia, Choiseul, Saa, and the south end of Malaita.<sup>1</sup> In New Ireland it is also practised in the north and in New Hanover, and in a modified form along the east coast and in the Kandass and Lambell Districts of the south.<sup>2</sup> In all this region it is of comparatively recent origin, as is shown by its being usually confined to chiefs or special people, and being obviously super-imposed upon the earlier burial-forms. Among the Mono-Alu of Bougainville Straits, for instance, interment still survives as an old custom, and the ashes of cremated bodies are treated in the same way as the bones of those who are interred;<sup>3</sup> while in New Ireland true cremation is only found in the north, and is merely subsidiary or alternative to other forms of disposal in the more southerly districts.<sup>4</sup> Cremation therefore probably belongs to the culture of one special set of immigrants (among whom Dr. Rivers finds a sun-cult<sup>5</sup>), but so far there is nothing to indicate any connexion with an afterworld in the sky or sun: such

\* Cremation is also found among one tribe in the Chatham Islands, the Te Haruā, who place two lighted trees at each end of the corpse and gradually push them forward until the body is consumed; the remains are poked with a stick causing the sparks to fly upwards, which was said to take the soul to the 'great happy land of *Tāne*'. The souls of those thus consumed never returned to trouble the living, as did those whose bodies were merely interred.<sup>1</sup> This practice therefore looks as though it had its origin in some special ritual intended to prevent the ghost's return; and although there are traces of a possible sky-afterworld in the Chatham Islands, the connexion is more probably with the western horizon and the ancestral home (cf. p. 83). Perhaps this curious ceremony is due to some special circumstances in this particular tribe, similar to those which are responsible for cremation in New Zealand.

<sup>1</sup> Shand (148), 162.

<sup>2</sup> Parkinson (123), 484; Thurnwald (171), iii. 22-3; Wheeler (181), 67, 69, 77; Guppy (51), 51; Williamson (189), 66-7; Codrington (22), 263; Rivers (139), ii. 268, 546.

<sup>3</sup> Parkinson (123), 273-4; G. Brown (15), 390; Pfeil (129), 80; Stephan and Graebner (163), 118, 167; Rivers (139), ii. 545.

<sup>4</sup> Wheeler (181), 67, 70, 73, 78.

<sup>5</sup> Parkinson (123), 274-5; Rivers (139), ii. 545-6.

<sup>6</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 548-9.

a belief is found farther east in the Union Group and Penrhyn Islands, or as the chiefly Paradise in Tahiti, &c., but cremation is absent. In the Solomon Islands the chiefs go to an island afterworld, in the western islands (where cremation is most frequent) to a volcano on Bougainville: in New Ireland we have little satisfactory information on the subject, but Pfeil tells us that the dead go to *Mith* at the north end of Sandwich Island (north west of New Ireland), or to Portland Island.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen elsewhere (cf. p. 7) that the island spirit-land of the Solomon Islands is connected with migration. Is it not possible that cremation is also due to the same cause, and has been adopted by those immigrants in the course of their wanderings, in order to carry the remains of their dead about with them? As we have shown above, cremation seems to have been practised under somewhat similar circumstances by the Maori. Moreover there is no apparent relation between cremation and any part of belief, except as regards quite unimportant details, which are obviously deliberate amplifications of the story of the soul's adventures, and apply equally to other methods of disposal. Under this head come the Buin account of a lake where the soul washes off the dirt of sickness or ashes (or equally of blood),<sup>2</sup> and the Mono-Alu description of the other ghosts rubbing the body of the new arrival to remedy the wounds of battle, or harm from cremation or from sharks after sea-burial.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the only reason given for cremation amongst these peoples is that of the Buin, who say that corpses are burnt so that they shall not decay,<sup>4</sup> which—if it has any real significance—suggests some practical origin for the custom in order to transport the dead body, such as has been indicated above.

We may therefore conclude that apart from foreign influence in Western Indonesia cremation is probably the result of special circumstances as a substitute for the ordinary method of burial—usually among a migratory people—and has no connexion with belief. In the Solomon Islands and New Ireland, it has now become a definite part of the culture of the more recent immigrants, but even here it has no eschatological significance.

<sup>1</sup> Pfeil (129), 144.

<sup>3</sup> Wheeler (181), 101-2.

<sup>2</sup> Thurnwald (171), i. 317.

<sup>4</sup> Thurnwald (171), i. 318



### § 3. *Desiccation and Embalming.*

The term desiccation is a misleading one in that it includes a number of practices which bear only a superficial resemblance to each other, and is often used for true embalming as well as for various methods of hastening decomposition by draining or smoking the putrefying corpse, or for the natural preservation of dead bodies in very dry caves. We will here consider first the Polynesian methods of mummification and partial embalming, which present certain features of special interest, and then pass to other varieties of desiccation.

(a) *Embalming in Polynesia.* True embalming of a rude kind, in which the intestines are removed and replaced by spices and drugs, is very rare in the area under enquiry, and occurs only in Samoa, Tahiti, and probably (formerly) New Zealand, for chiefs, and in a less satisfactory manner in the Torres Straits Islands (cf. p. 169). In Samoa and Tahiti this embalming is performed by women in a special house or shed, the body is punctured (Samoa only), oiled and anointed with aromatic juices, and dried, and thus preserved for several months; eventually when it begins to decay, it is buried in the sacred enclosure (*marae*).<sup>1</sup> This practice has gradually disappeared in Samoa, because when the special family of old ladies with which it was connected died out, it had to be discontinued.<sup>2</sup> In the South Island of New Zealand, Hare Hongi gives two instances of mummification described by eye-witnesses, in which the intestines were removed, and the body pricked and dried over an oven, which he says was 'peculiarly common to the old-time Maori'. This process was carried on in the house of the deceased or in a special hut, and the bodies were thus preserved for some time, eventually being buried in the burial-place.<sup>3</sup> The embalming of heads by steaming in an oven and drying in the sun, described by Taylor, which is chiefly connected with tatu, but also to 'preserve the heads of those who were dear to them', may be a survival of mummification,<sup>4</sup> although Elsdon Best says that enemies' heads were treated thus in order to revile

<sup>1</sup> Turner (176), 148-9; Meinicke (112), ii. 119, 183; Ellis (33), i. 400-1.

<sup>2</sup> Turner (175), 232; G. Brown (15), 405. <sup>3</sup> Hare Hongi (62), 169-71.

<sup>4</sup> Taylor (166), 324.

them.<sup>1</sup> The existence of mummification in New Zealand has been the subject of much controversy,<sup>2</sup> but Tregear concludes that there is evidence of its former practice in the South Island by some tribes or families,<sup>3</sup> and a form of mummification (i. e. without disembowelling) certainly seems to have been a very widespread custom among Polynesians. Thus in Hawaii corpses are partially embalmed by being salted and dried,<sup>4</sup> and in the Marquesas chiefs' bodies are sometimes preserved (as in Tahiti) for years in their houses or in the temple,<sup>5</sup> and embalming occurs in the Gilbert Islands to which there has been recent migration from Samoa.<sup>6</sup> Less complete mummification appears in Mangarewa<sup>7</sup> (East of Paumotu Archipelago), in Nukahiva (New Marquesas) where frequent rubbings with coco-nut oil preserve the corpse and change it into 'an absolute mummy',<sup>8</sup> and also in Mangaia<sup>9</sup> (Hervey Group) and the Gambier Group.<sup>10</sup> The custom in Bowditch Island and Tonga of visiting the grave for five nights after burial, removing the stone over the head and pouring in coco-nut oil,<sup>11</sup> is perhaps a survival of former desiccation.

The only reason given for embalming in Samoa was affection, i. e. to keep the bodies of the departed with the survivors as if alive: Stair however mentions the occasional practice of sending adrift rudely embalmed bodies in a canoe,<sup>12</sup> and a boat is associated with the funerary ritual of embalming in Samoa, Tahiti, the Marquesas, and Hawaii,<sup>13</sup> so that it looks as though there were some connexion with migration, and with attempts to preserve the body and send it back across the sea to the ancestral home, or to carry it about during wanderings (cf. p. 10). Further, in Mangarewa the dried bodies of kings were transported to a certain island where was the sacred burial-place,<sup>14</sup> as was also done with the deified bones of kings (replacing perhaps their desiccated bodies?) in Hawaii,<sup>15</sup> which suggests a reminiscence of migration,

<sup>1</sup> E. Best (9), 183-4.

<sup>2</sup> (Cf. especially discussion in 'Journal of the Polynesian Society', xxv. 122 and 167, and xxvi. 70 and 74).

<sup>3</sup> Tregear (153), 167.

<sup>4</sup> Bryan (16), 543; Meinicke (112), ii. 301; Jarves (73), 73.

<sup>5</sup> Melville (111), 216; Meinicke (112), ii. 253.

<sup>6</sup> Grimble (198), 47-8, 53.

<sup>7</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 224.

<sup>8</sup> Langsdorff (90), i. 154.

<sup>9</sup> Gill (45), 71-2, 76; P. Smith (157), 171-2.

<sup>10</sup> Beechey (8), i. 163-5, 170.

<sup>11</sup> Lister (96), 55.

<sup>12</sup> Stair (161), 178.

<sup>13</sup> Turner (175), 232; Meinicke (112), ii. 183, 253; Bryan (16), 53.

<sup>14</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 224.

<sup>15</sup> Bryan (16), 53; Meinicke (112), ii. 300; Rivers (139), ii. 281.

and the Mangaian ruling families claim to have come from the region of the setting sun.<sup>1</sup> In this connexion it is interesting to note instances elsewhere of desiccation in order to transport the remains of the dead to their own home. When one of a band of To Mori staying by Lake Posso in Central Celebes died, his body was smoked and dried over a fire so that he might be taken home.<sup>2</sup> In Halmahera (Moluccas) when a man dies outside the village, his bones are dried and brought back for burial; <sup>3</sup> and all over Indonesia it is considered very important to obtain the body of a man who has died away from home that he may be buried with his own people and join them in the hereafter, his skeleton, hair, skull, a bit of his garment, or even some earth from the spot (e. g. Angholo), or a doll to represent him (e. g. Papuans of Dutch New Guinea, Galelorese of Halmahera, Angholo) being brought back by the relations.<sup>4</sup>

Everywhere these Polynesian mummies are buried in the *marae* (and finally in family burial-caves in Mangaia), except those of less important chiefs in Hawaii and Mangarewa which are sometimes deposited in caves, the latter being probably the older custom as in New Zealand.<sup>5</sup> Moreover the remains of all high chiefs and kings are ritually 'deified' when they are placed in the *marae*,<sup>6</sup> especially in Samoa where the embalmed bodies of some deified chiefs were worshipped under the significant name of *Le faa-Atua-lala-ina*, which means 'made into a sun-dried god'.<sup>7</sup> (The Tahitian 'conveying of the spirit' by a special priest <sup>8</sup> is a further development of this 'deification.' cf. p. 80). As these deified chiefs buried in the *marae* are (or were formerly) all desiccated or partially embalmed, and as the latter is evidently an old custom now falling into disuse and perhaps originally due to migration (cf. p. 165), it looks as though embalming may have helped to develop this ritual deification of chiefs (cf. Samoan 'sun-dried gods'), when the original purpose had been forgotten. The actual preservation of the body by this means would be suggestive of special powers and continued activities on the part of the dead chief's ghost, and the very fact that this mys-

<sup>1</sup> Gill (45), 71-2.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 327-8.

<sup>3</sup> Riedel (135), 85.

<sup>4</sup> Kruijt (84), 243-4; id. (83), 326.

<sup>5</sup> Cowan (24), 348-9, 356.

<sup>6</sup> Bryan (16), 53; Jarves (73), 73; Rivers (139), ii. 281; Meinicke (112), ii. 183, 224.

<sup>7</sup> Stair (161), 211.

<sup>8</sup> Ellis (33), i. 403-4.

terious process could only be carried out by certain persons for members of particular families, and that it was the occasion of great festivities, would add to the religious importance of these mummified bodies. Compare also embalming in the Gilbert Islands, where the corpse was fumigated (the body sometimes punctured), dried in the sun, and afterwards anointed frequently and preserved for several years, before being buried in the usual manner.<sup>1</sup> For connexion with migration in these islands (cf. pp. 16 and 83 n.).

In New Caledonia, where a cult of deified ancestors prevails, chiefs are embalmed, the body being punctured, the juices of certain plants rubbed in, and dried or smoked in the top of the dead man's hut, which is then shut up and becomes tabu:<sup>2</sup> this is probably due to the Polynesian influence which is specially marked here with regard to chiefs and their customs.<sup>3</sup>

(b) *Desiccation*. We frequently hear of 'mummies' and 'desiccation' elsewhere. But for the most part this refers to the numerous attempts to hasten the period of decomposition by artificially drying the corpse, either by smoking it over a fire, which is common in New Guinea (e. g. Kumusi River,<sup>4</sup> Jabim and Bukaua of Huon Gulf,<sup>5</sup> Dore of Wonim,<sup>6</sup> Geelvink Bay, Jobi Island, Karons of Arfak Mountains, Papuans of West coast,<sup>7</sup> Torres Straits Islands,<sup>8</sup>) and among the Dayak of the Upper Kapuas River, the Igorots and Tinguinanes of Luzon,<sup>9</sup> Alferu of Ceram,<sup>10</sup> Baining of New Britain,<sup>11</sup> &c., or by draining it through bamboo-tubes, &c., as is frequently done in Borneo,<sup>12</sup> among the Battak of Sumatra,<sup>13</sup> in ex-German New Guinea,<sup>14</sup> New Britain,<sup>15</sup> &c. (This is sometimes done in the house, sometimes on a platform outside). When semi-nomadic tribes became sedentary, or gave up deserting their villages after a death, such exposure platforms in or near the huts would be sufficiently

<sup>1</sup> Grimble (198), 47-8.

<sup>2</sup> Glaumont (46), 128.

<sup>3</sup> Joyce (76), 119, 131.

<sup>4</sup> Chinnery (20), 133.

<sup>5</sup> Neuhauss (119), i. 170.

<sup>6</sup> Meinicke (112), i. 126.

<sup>7</sup> Wilken (184), 302.

<sup>8</sup> Myers and Haddon (56), 136.

<sup>9</sup> Sawyer (144), 279.

<sup>10</sup> Bastian (6), i. 149.

<sup>11</sup> Burger (17), 61-2.

<sup>12</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 48; Ling Roth (95), i. 148-9, 151; Furness (43), 140.

<sup>13</sup> Marsden (108), 387-8.

<sup>14</sup> Neuhauss (119), i. 171; Keysser (77), iii. 82; Lehner (93), iii. 321; Zahn (195), iii. 522.

<sup>15</sup> Banks (28), 356; Pfeil (129), 79.



unpleasant to make such methods of hastening decomposition desirable, in addition to the wish to shorten the uncomfortable period between death and final departure when the ghost is supposed to be still near at hand (cf. p. 89, &c.). Some Baining tribes of New Britain used to expose their dead on a platform over a fire and keep the dried corpse for years; this custom was however voluntarily given up because it smelt too much, but in Vunagalip and other districts the bones are still carried about by the relations to protect the remains and to be protected by them.<sup>1</sup>

There are many instances of corpses being tied up in bundles, sometimes with herbs or camphor, and kept in the house as long as possible, especially in ex-German New Guinea (Kadda, &c.),<sup>2</sup> the Rossel Mountains of New Ireland,<sup>3</sup> the Torres Straits Islands,<sup>4</sup> and among the Alferu of Ceram,<sup>5</sup> said to be from motives of affection; the common practice of wearing the bones or skull of the deceased after decay is probably an alternative, or in some instances a substitution—as in the case of the Baining quoted above—for this (e. g. Kadda,<sup>6</sup> Moanus of the Admiralty Islands, Kai of Huon Gulf,<sup>7</sup> Muralug in the Torres Straits,<sup>8</sup> &c.), while as we have seen elsewhere (cf. p. 66, &c.), among the Papuans of Dutch New Guinea, in Celebes, &c., images generally replace the bones which are now buried in remote places, and a doctrine of plurality of souls arises, the ghost being present in the image and at the same time in the more distant afterworld suggested by the disposal of the bones (cf. p. 67, &c.). The mixed feelings of affection and fear experienced with regard to the dead help to produce these mixed forms, in which on one hand the flesh is got rid of to send away the ghost, and the bones are removed to caves, or alternatively the corpse is packed up in the house, or desiccated mummies (or the bones) are preserved among the living. (Compare for instance the practice in the Trobriand Islands where the bones are smoked and kept by the widow, and later finally buried.<sup>9</sup>) In many cases where final-burial is

<sup>1</sup> Burger (17), 62.

<sup>2</sup> Finsch (39), ii. 114; Zahn (195), iii. 522; Neuhauss (119), i. 167, 170-1.

<sup>3</sup> Parkinson (123), 275; Rivers (139), ii. 545-6.

<sup>4</sup> Myers and Haddon (56), 126, 148.

<sup>5</sup> Bastian (6), i. 149.

<sup>6</sup> Finsch (39), ii. 115.

<sup>7</sup> Keysser (77), iii. 82.

<sup>8</sup> Haddon (53), 436.

<sup>9</sup> Seligman (146), 728.

the usual method, specially beloved persons are preserved in the house, the general belief that the fate of the body and the soul are parallel being responsible for a certain amount of incompatibility in ideas about the abode of the dead. The Torres Straits Islands method of mummification, in which the entrails are removed, the body punctured, red earth rubbed in, the skin stripped off, the juices (formerly) drunk (drinking or anointing with them is a common New Guinea practice during desiccation to get the strength of the dead man),<sup>1</sup> and the remains dried and kept in the house until they fall to pieces,<sup>2</sup> is an instance of one of these mixed types so common to New Guinea.

It appears that in most cases these special forms of disposal are totally unconnected with beliefs about the life after death, the peculiar features being due to topographical conditions or special circumstances, such as the absence of the means necessary for the usual method of disposal, the fear of disturbance by enemies, or the occurrence of a death away from home or during tribal migration. This applies especially to cremation in New Zealand, and may also be responsible for its adoption by the immigrant people of the Western Solomons and New Ireland, although it has now become an integral part of their culture, albeit still unrelated to their beliefs in an afterworld. Upright-burial is seen to be merely incidental to the method of disposal employed, and final tree-burial an alternative to cave-burial, &c., for motives of secrecy. Tree-exposure seems to be characteristic of very primitive forest peoples, generally in a semi-nomadic stage, who have a vague type of afterworld, doubtless due to the conditions under which they live; but both practice and belief are probably the result of environment and stage of development, and are in no way related to each other.

Desiccation and embalming are, however, of rather a different order. In Polynesia there is some evidence that embalming and various kinds of desiccation are connected with migration and attempts to take back the body to the ancestral home, or to carry about the corpses of important people during wanderings, but that when the original motive was forgotten, and mummified

<sup>1</sup> Neuhauss (119) i. 170-1; Guise (50), 211; Chinnery (20), 133.

<sup>2</sup> Myers and Haddon (56), 136, 148, 149; Hunt (72), 12.

corpses came to be buried in the *marae*, this practice was an important factor in promoting the ritual deification of chiefs whose bodies had been treated in this manner, and in their elevation to a special afterworld among the gods.

Desiccation elsewhere is very varied in form and purpose, and rests on mixed motives, a desire to get rid of the flesh (and hence the ghost) alternating or combining with attempts to preserve the corpse, or at any rate the bones (later often represented by images), with the survivors. This leads to a dual form of belief in the presence of the ghost among the living, and in its departure to a distant afterworld.

## XIV

### ORIENTATION

By orientation we mean the deliberate placing of the corpse in the grave to face some particular direction. This practice is one that is extraordinarily widespread, occurring among peoples of the higher religions with even greater frequency than among primitive tribes in remote regions. In dealing with this subject it must therefore be borne in mind that the very fact that orientation is so common elsewhere, and has been the subject of so much controversy, may have unconsciously influenced the observer in his report, and the recorded orientation of the corpse towards some cardinal point or towards the sun may not be the determining factor or even the criterion for the native himself, and certainly does not ipso facto imply a sun-cult or even any connexion with the sun. Confusion between the head 'lying towards the east' (i. e., facing west) or 'turned to the east' is also liable to occur, owing to the vague descriptions of some authors.

There is no doubt, however, that in this region orientation invariably denotes the direction which the dead man should take when leaving his body, whether it be towards the supposed locality of the afterworld (often at the same time the ancestral home of the race), or the recognized route thither, or merely away from (or towards) the abodes of the living, according to the development of eschatological belief and the predominant attitude towards the dead.

The sun is in reality a much less important factor than might be expected, the body being generally orientated to the west, and only incidentally in the direction of the sunset. Orientation is, however, sometimes connected with an entrance to the underworld, or with the horizon where the sun goes down (cf. pp. 39-40, 83-4).

#### § 1. *Ancestral Home.*

In the majority of cases orientation of the corpse is found among peoples whose ghosts return to some definite tribal home



(cf. p. 84). This is perhaps because the direction of the after-world has been emphasized by migration, after which it would naturally be much easier for the ghost to lose his way, and so more attention is paid to any rites which may help him on his journey. Thus the Samoan chief is interred with his head to the east and his feet towards the sea, facing the western spirit-land across the ocean,<sup>1</sup> and the Chatham Islander was buried on the seashore facing west towards *Hawaiki*.<sup>2</sup> Similar orientation occurs in Rapanui,<sup>3</sup> (east of the Paumotu Archipelago) in the Gambier Group,<sup>4</sup> and (formerly) in Easter Island, although in the last-named no belief in an afterworld survives to-day.<sup>5</sup> Orientation in the Gilbert Islands is also definitely connected with migration and the ancestral home.<sup>6</sup> In the South-East Malay Archipelago, again, orientation seems to be related to the direction of the original home of the people concerned, and hence to the afterworld (cf. pp. 4-5). This has been discussed in detail in Mr. Perry's article on the subject,<sup>7</sup> and is specially marked in Baba,<sup>8</sup> Timor,<sup>9</sup> Savu,<sup>10</sup> and Leti.<sup>11</sup> Similarly among the Wamira of Bartle Bay in the South Massim District of British New Guinea, the ancestral home also determines the orientation of the corpse, the feet of the body being placed in the direction whence the tribe came in the old days.<sup>12</sup>

Elsewhere the orientation is definitely towards the afterworld which the dead man would not otherwise reach, as in Waga-Waga in South Massim<sup>13</sup> (eastwards), and in the northern D'Entrecasteaux among the Ukoni (to south) and Kabuna and Kukaya (to north), because the soul must travel in that direction.<sup>14</sup> Similar beliefs occur in such widely separated places as in New Zealand, where the body faces the leaping-place at the North Cape,<sup>15</sup> among the Moanus of the Admiralty Islands, who place the corpse with its feet inland and send their dead to the mountains of the interior,<sup>16</sup> and the Olo Ngadjoe of Borneo,

<sup>1</sup> Krämer (82), ii. 103; Meinicke (112), ii. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Dendy (29), 126.

<sup>3</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 233.

<sup>4</sup> Beechey (8), i. 163.

<sup>5</sup> Routledge (141), 229, 239.

<sup>6</sup> Grimble (198), 47.

<sup>7</sup> Perry (126), 286-9.

<sup>8</sup> Riedel (136), 334, 360.

<sup>9</sup> Bastian (6), ii. 6, 8.

<sup>10</sup> Riedel (137), 9; Kruijt (83), 342; Wilken (184), 318.

<sup>11</sup> Riedel (136), 394; Kruijt (83), 377; Wilken (184), 318.

<sup>12</sup> Newton (121), 222; Seligman (146), 616.

<sup>13</sup> Seligman (146), 610.

<sup>14</sup> Jenness and Ballantyne (75), 112.

<sup>15</sup> White (183), 362.

<sup>16</sup> Parkinson (123), 386, 404.

whose dead are laid parallel to the river in the direction of the spirit-land, because the ghosts return to the tribal home (cf. p. 72).

## § 2. *The Horizon.*

Frequently the orientation of the body is towards the east or west, and seems to be associated with the rising or setting sun. This appears to be due to the belief that the underworld is entered at the 'hole' where the sun disappears on the horizon (cf. pp. 83-4), and therefore seems to imply an afterworld underground, illumined by the sun at night. Thus the Toradja of Celebes, who have an underworld to which the sun goes at night, orientate the corpse to the west,<sup>1</sup> and the Galelorese of Halmahera bury the body with its face towards the setting sun, which must not have quite gone down, so that it may take the soul with it.<sup>2</sup> The latter, it is true, have no longer an afterworld underground, but their dead live on sandbanks or wander on the shore,<sup>3</sup> or go to *dipa magòla*, that is, 'the horizon, the origin of the air, the beginning of the sky', natural deaths in the western part and unnatural in the eastern.<sup>4</sup> The Galelorese have, however, come under Mohammedan influence, and the horizon belief looks very much like a Moslemized form of the sunset entrance to the underworld; the sandbank spirit-land may be the result of migration across the sea, as, according to tradition, their ancestors came to the Moluccas from the north-west<sup>5</sup> (cf. pp. 26-7, 84). The case of the Andamanese is very similar. Here, whether the corpse is interred or exposed on a stage in the jungle, it is placed looking eastward, various reasons being given for this practice, i. e., that dissolution is hastened if the body faces the rising sun, or that the afterworld *Ʒereg* lies in the eastern sky, or that otherwise the sun would not rise. But as there is also a belief in an underworld visited in turn by the sun and moon,<sup>6</sup> the eastward orientation may well be connected with the horizon entrance to the world below. That decay will be hastened by this means looks like a supplementary interpretation (cf. p. 176). The Dusun of Borneo likewise believe in an underworld, and orientate their

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 370, 372.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 369.

<sup>3</sup> Riedel (135), 66.

<sup>4</sup> Kruijt (83), 378.

<sup>5</sup> Riedel (135), 58, 68.

<sup>6</sup> Man (106), 76-7, 93; A. R. Brown (197), 107-8, 168, 170.

dead to the west, although the entrance is sometimes supposed to be through a cave.<sup>1</sup> In Sumatra the Toba-Battak bury important people facing west, and the spirit-land is underground, while the Karo-Battak corpse is placed on a chair facing sunset; the ghosts of the latter go to the west and then up the path to the dwelling of the gods above,<sup>2</sup> but this is due to Moslem influence, and probably they too had an underworld like their neighbours the Toba-Battak and the Niassers. Orientation to the west occurs in the Malay Peninsula, among the Mantra, Benua (males orientated to the east, cf. p. 175), Besisi, and other Jakun tribes.<sup>3</sup> The ritual and beliefs of these peoples have been so contaminated by contact with the Mohammedan Malays, that it is difficult to sift out the native from the foreign, and perhaps this orientation is the result of the intrusion of Moslem doctrines. On the other hand, there may have been an earlier belief in an underworld with an entrance on the horizon (cf. pp. 39-40, 78-9, 84, &c.), of which traces are found in the placing of the after-world ('Land of Screw-Pines and Thatch-Palms') of the Western Semang on the western horizon across the sea, where was the hole into which the sun fell at night,<sup>4</sup> and the invariable situation of the Island of Fruits—common to all Semang, Sakai, and Jakun tribes—in the western sky, connected with sunset or the end of the world.<sup>5</sup> The Benua account of souls travelling towards the west, and being absorbed into the effulgence of the setting sun,<sup>6</sup> is perhaps a variation of this idea.

Hence, among certain peoples, orientation of the corpse to west or east seems to be definitely connected with the soul's entrance to the underworld, through the 'sun's hole' on the horizon, and perhaps arose as the result of this belief, when special attention came to be paid to such details of the funerary rites as the exact position of the corpse.

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 371, 381.

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (83), 371, 374-5.

<sup>3</sup> Borie (14), 82; Newbold (120), ii. 410; Martin (109), 926; Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 103, 110, 114; Hervey (64), 97.

<sup>4</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 208.

<sup>5</sup> Martin (109), 952-3; Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 208-9, 321; Logan (99), 326\*.

<sup>6</sup> Newbold (120), 390.

§ 3. *Differentiation.*

Occasionally orientation is less concerned with the direction which the departed soul should follow than with the separation implied by an opposite orientation for certain classes of people (especially unnatural deaths and those who are not full members of the tribe), in order to emphasize the difference in ritual. Thus, if the body usually faces west, that of the unnatural death will face east, and so on. The northern D'Entrecasteaux soul will not depart to the afterworld, but haunts the village, if laid on the left instead of the right side,<sup>1</sup> while the Buin of Bougainville cremate 'bloody' deaths by day instead of by night.<sup>2</sup> In the Malay Peninsula some Benua tribes turn the head of a male corpse to the east and that of a female to the west (the latter being the usual orientation in this region), although the soul is supposed to go in the latter direction,<sup>3</sup> and the Mantra put a child facing east and an adult west,<sup>4</sup> as though the former were not allowed the proper rites of a full member of the tribe. Among the Karo-Battak of Sumatra the corpse is buried facing the village, but unnatural deaths away from it, so that they may not return thither,<sup>5</sup> and, as the ghosts of the latter are always more feared because of their revengeful habits, this orientation prevents haunting as well as reversing the ritual. In Angholo (South Sumatra) orientation depends on the village to which the man belongs, in one the head being placed to the sunset and in another to the sunrise;<sup>6</sup> this is perhaps another case of differentiation, this time according to the clan or village.

In certain cases orientation is deliberately due to affection felt towards the dead man, and seems to be done with the express intention of securing the continued presence of the ghost, or of enabling him to revisit his former haunts, like the fisherman in Maré (Loyalty Islands) who was buried in a cave that he might watch over his son when fishing.<sup>7</sup> Thus, when the skull of the New Caledonian chief is taken from the corpse, it is put in one of the sacred places connected with a cult of the dead with its face towards the village, round which the soul is

<sup>1</sup> Jenness and Ballantyne (75), 120.

<sup>2</sup> Thurnwald (171), iii, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Newbold (120) ii, 390, 409-10.

<sup>4</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii, 110; Borie (14), 82.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (83), 371.

<sup>6</sup> Kruijt (83), 371.

<sup>7</sup> Sarasin (143), 245.



sometimes said to remain,<sup>1</sup> and in the Chatham Islands a great bird-catcher's body was fastened to a tree with his face turned towards the locality he had most hunted over in life.<sup>2</sup>

Such cases of special orientation are, however, comparatively rare, and it seems probable that in most instances orientation is primarily towards the land of the dead, assisting the ghost to its destination, and at the same time preventing haunting by facilitating its departure, and that other explanations are more or less supplementary or fanciful, or perhaps due to the ignorance of the native informant. Thus in Yak Island in the Mekeo District of British New Guinea, it is said that the body is buried with its face towards Mt. Yule to prevent the spirit from scaring away the fish by walking along the strand; but as the afterworld of these peoples is generally in the bush,<sup>3</sup> and therefore away from the sea, the underlying idea is probably to send the ghost safely thither, that he may not haunt the survivors. That orientation to the east hastens desiccation among the Andamanese (cf. p. 173) is probably also a supplementary interpretation.

With the exception of a few sporadic instances where affection for the dead man, or desire for his protection, supply the motive, and which are probably comparatively late elaborations, orientation of the dead is of two kinds. Either it is intended to facilitate the departure of the ghost and prevent its haunting the survivors, by indicating the direction of the spirit-land or the entrance to the underworld, or it is a sign of ritual differentiation in the case of certain classes of people, when it implies some sort of separation in the hereafter. It is thus (unlike most of the practices hitherto considered) almost always a ritual act deliberately performed as the result of eschatological belief, rather than a reinterpretation of already existing burial-rites.

As regards the afterworld, orientation is most frequent among peoples who believe in the ghost's return to the ancestral home, probably because the latter lies in some very definite direction, and because it is considered more difficult for the ghost to find his way back after a people has migrated. Among tribes whose

<sup>1</sup> Legrand (92), 49, 54-5.

<sup>2</sup> Seligman (146), 275, 310.

<sup>3</sup> Tregear (173), 75.

afterworld is underground, the corpse is generally orientated towards the rising or setting sun, in order that the soul may enter through the sun's hole on the horizon, and this occurs chiefly in Indonesia, where the connexion between the underworld and sunset is prominent (cf. p. 53).

Differential orientation is less common, and is usually found in the case of unnatural deaths, or of those who are not full members of the tribe, or occasionally denotes a difference of sex. It serves chiefly to emphasize the special ritual for these classes of people, and tends to accentuate the theory of their separation in the afterworld (cf. pp. 129-30).

## XV

### GRAVE-GIFTS

By grave-gifts we here include anything placed in or on the grave, or hung up round the corpse during the funeral ceremonies. These may consist of food, the personal property of the deceased or his family, presents brought by friends, or even living animals or slaves. (The question of human sacrifice will be dealt with later on.)

#### § 1. *For Use in the Afterworld.*

Apart from the belief that the funeral-feast enables the soul to gain admission to the spirit-land, which has been considered elsewhere (cf. pp. 115-16, 126), the most usual explanation of grave-gifts is that they are for the use of the ghost in the other world, in which, as the counterpart of this one, food, implements, and so forth are likewise necessary. This is especially the case in Borneo and Celebes, where the idea has been elaborated, and plays a prominent part in the funerary ritual. Among the Sea-Dyaks of Sarawak such grave-gifts are called *baiya*, and consist of personal necessities like rice, betel, and money, which are laid in the ground with the body, and spears, baskets, gongs, &c., placed on the surface, the latter being broken to prevent theft. All these are 'in some mystic way carried into the other world for the use of the dead', and even if a man die away from home, the *baiya* is still deposited in the family burial-place. This *baiya* varies according to the wealth of the deceased, and is regarded as a mark of affection.<sup>1</sup> Among some tribes food is ritually conveyed to the dead by the professional wailer at various feasts of the dead.<sup>2</sup> The Milano soul-boat, made out of the sago-palms belonging to the dead man, and placed near the grave, is also a mode of sending his property with him, as it is supposed to reappear in the next world in the shape of a large schooner, anchored off the ghost's abode ready for use.<sup>3</sup> The Kayan belief is even more definite. 'The articles of clothing

<sup>1</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 208-10.

<sup>3</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 145 (quoting Crocker).

and weapons deposited with the dead are of the highest value . . . as they wish the spirit of the deceased to appear to advantage on his arrival in the other world, and from this it appears the belief is entertained that the articles are actually used.' <sup>1</sup> At the funeral of a certain Berawan chief, a number of musical instruments were added to his weapons, as it was expected that he would hold a high position among the minstrels and warriors in the afterworld.<sup>2</sup> Among these Bornean tribes there is a tendency to reinterpret grave-gifts as being for the ghost's journey to the land of the dead, rather than for his use there, picturesque additions being made which give the necessary local colour ; but this is probably a later development. Among the mixed Jakun tribes, such as the Besisi, Mantra, Benua, and Orang Laut, all of whom place objects of personal use—spears, tobacco, &c.—and food by the grave, light fires, and build soul-houses (Malay custom) for the ghost, these offerings are evidently intended for the so-called grave-ghost (*hantu kubur*), who remains temporarily by the grave, and who is probably a development of the temporary sojourn of the soul (cf. p. 59). On Besisi soul-houses various symbols are placed representing the sex of the dead person, and it is possible that some of the objects hung up are in the first place a way of marking the spot (cf. p. 186), the food and fire being more especially meant for the welfare of the temporary ghost.<sup>3</sup>

That the grave-gifts are for the use of the deceased hereafter is certainly a most natural interpretation (especially to the Western mind, which is familiar with the elaboration of this idea in higher civilizations, such as that of Ancient Egypt), when an explanation is desired ; but possibly even this is secondary, the practice being connected primarily with tabu or status, for even among the peoples quoted above there are signs that these are the underlying motives. Thus, the Kayan is expected to appear to advantage in the other world if duly provided with his property ; the sago-palms from which the Milano soul-boat is made belong to the dead man, and are cut down at his death, ostensibly for his use hereafter, but very likely because of the

<sup>1</sup> Hose (70), 165.

<sup>2</sup> Furness (43), 139.

<sup>3</sup> Martin (109), 926-9 ; Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 99-100, 108 ; Annandale and Robinson (3), i. 45 ; Evans (36), 195.



tabu on the property of the dead (cf. pp. 178, 187); the Sea-Dyak *baiya* depends on the wealth of the deceased. During the 'lying in state' the Toradja hang up the possessions of the dead man round the corpse, but take them back later,<sup>1</sup> probably (though this is not stated) when the tabu of death has been removed; among the Mai Darât Sakai the grave-gifts 'for the use of the deceased' consist of all the goods owned by him.<sup>2</sup>

The idea of tabu in Indonesia generally finds its concrete expression in the theory of the temporary sojourn of the ghost (cf. p. 89, &c.), and the secondary burial at which it finally departs is almost universal. Thus the period of tabu on the dead man's possessions coincides with the length of the ghost's stay, during which the grave-gifts are for his use alone, after which—the tabu having worn off—he takes them with him to the spirit-land (i. e. they are buried with him), or their 'souls' go with his (i. e. the relations remove them). The latter is the case in Halmahera (Moluccas), where the fruit-trees and movable goods of the deceased are divided after a year,<sup>3</sup> and in Aru (South-East Malay Archipelago) the grave-gifts are taken back at the bone-burial, when the ghost makes his final departure.<sup>4</sup>

In Borneo, where the idea of a journey to the afterworld is especially prominent, the interpretation of grave-gifts has undergone a further development, and they are explained as being provision for the soul upon its way. Thus among the Kayan-Bahau the corpse is carefully dressed up in a costume of olden time, the chief characteristics of which are the figures cut out of black cotton on white jackets, the black colour being to frighten away evil spirits on the journey, while pearls are also provided with which the dead man may propitiate them. Further he is given a carrying-basket (*adjat*) containing things to keep off the dangers of the road, among which are two small bamboo-vases with food for the good spirits, and queer stones and animals' teeth to ward off evil ones. Other useful objects for the journey also appear, such as a half-calabash to ladle water out of the boat when crossing rough rivers, a small ladder to climb up and down precipices, besides gongs, weapons, clothes, &c. The ghost only starts on its journey when these gifts have been placed with the

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 323-4.

<sup>3</sup> Riedel (135), 85.

<sup>2</sup> Annandale and Robinson (3), i. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Riedel (136), 267.

corpse.<sup>1</sup> The Kayans attach two small wooden figures to the coffin, which is roughly shaped like a boat, a female one at the head and a male one at the foot, which according to Hose and McDougall are probably a vestige of the former custom of killing slaves, whose souls would row the dead man on the journey.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand this interpretation may itself be secondary, as Ling Roth states that the slaves killed become attendants in a future state and not on the journey<sup>3</sup> (cf. p. 196). Mr. Hose says that the grave-gifts are to make the deceased appear to advantage on his arrival,<sup>4</sup> and the idea that the tatuing on the hands and forearms of the Kayan woman will illuminate the dark places of the journey for the ghost<sup>5</sup> seems almost certainly to be a reinterpretation of what was first only a sign of rank or status defining the position of the ghost in her new abode as in this life, as tatu-marks are necessary to secure an entrance to the spirit-land among Kayan and Punan warriors, being evidence of head-hunting,<sup>6</sup> and they also form part of the admission-test of several other peoples, e. g. Te Rhoon Papuans,<sup>7</sup> the natives of Ysabel<sup>8</sup> (Solomons), Malecula<sup>9</sup> and Efate<sup>10</sup> (New Hebrides), &c. (cf. p. 121).

As we have seen above (p. 72) that the whole journey-idea in Borneo seems to be the result of migration, it seems not unreasonable to conclude that the grave-gifts also share in this reinterpretation, the wooden figures by the canoe-coffin perhaps representing the tribesmen who originally took back the corpse. Signs of recent reinterpretation also appear among the Bahau of Tring on the Upper Mahakkam River. At the funeral the 'singer' describes the details of the road which the soul must travel, including a river where he must make a canoe with paddles, spirits to whom he gives clothes and presents, and a tree-trunk which he cuts in two with his axe.<sup>11</sup> These superfluous details are obviously inventions in order to provide a motive for the various grave-gifts (which the singer then appropriates as

<sup>1</sup> Nieuwenhuis (122), i. 89, 104, 145-6.

<sup>2</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 34-5.

<sup>3</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 157 (quoting Low).

<sup>4</sup> Hose (70), 165.

<sup>5</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 47.

<sup>6</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 41, 47.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (83), 355-6.

<sup>8</sup> Codrington (22), 257.

<sup>9</sup> Watt Leggatt (180), 701.

<sup>10</sup> Somerville (159), 10.

<sup>11</sup> Book (13), 225-6.

a reward), the case of the axe showing clearly that the true reasons for burying the dead man's property have been lost, it now being thought necessary to find an eschatological explanation for every detail of the funeral ritual.

## § 2. *Other Explanations.*

(a) *Destruction of property.* In Melanesia the destruction of the property of the dead man seems to be the fundamental idea of grave-gifts; theoretically his property should either be destroyed at once (Coast-people of New Britain,<sup>1</sup> Bartle Bay,<sup>2</sup> &c.) or interred with him (Banks Islands,<sup>3</sup> Ysabel,<sup>4</sup> New Hebrides,<sup>5</sup> Lifu,<sup>6</sup> Motu-Motu<sup>7</sup> of British New Guinea), or—in the case of secondary burial—hung round his corpse while it is exposed or preserved in the house (Florida,<sup>8</sup> New Georgia,<sup>9</sup> New Britain,<sup>10</sup> Duke of York Island,<sup>11</sup> Kaniet<sup>12</sup> of Admiralty Group). But in practice the best ornaments are often removed before burial (New Britain, Duke of York Island, Koita,<sup>13</sup> Roro,<sup>14</sup> Tube-Tube,<sup>15</sup> Trobriands,<sup>16</sup> Bukaua of Huon Gulf<sup>17</sup>), or dug up secretly later (East Solomons,<sup>18</sup> Motu-Motu), and the things hung up are taken back at the final burial, when the tabu-period is considered over (New Georgia). In the Northern D'Entrecasteaux the dead man's house is pulled down, or left to rot with his property on its platform, and 'if their grief should overwhelm them' they break his pots and his canoe and perhaps cut down his yam-trees and bananas. His nearest kinsman harvests his garden, and often places some of its yams on the platform, to rot with the rest of his possessions; but this is not to feed the ghost, but an expression of grief.<sup>19</sup>

In the New Britain Archipelago, the Solomon Islands, and in South Melanesia, these grave-gifts (except food) are connected with property and with the honour or status of the dead man—

<sup>1</sup> Parkinson (123), 75, 185; Burger (17), 33.

<sup>2</sup> Newton (121), 222.

<sup>3</sup> Codrington (22), 268, 270.

<sup>4</sup> Codrington (22), 257.

<sup>5</sup> Codrington (22), 284-5, 287; Turner (176), 335.

<sup>6</sup> Hadfield (57), 215-16.

<sup>7</sup> Chalmers (18), 330.

<sup>8</sup> Codrington (22), 255.

<sup>9</sup> Somerville (160), 403.

<sup>10</sup> Kleintitschen (79), 224; G. Brown (15), 192.

<sup>11</sup> G. Brown (15), 387.

<sup>12</sup> Parkinson (123), 441.

<sup>13</sup> Seligman (146), 161.

<sup>14</sup> Seligman (146), 274-5.

<sup>15</sup> Seligman (146), 613.

<sup>16</sup> Seligman (146), 715.

<sup>17</sup> Lehner (93), iii. 470.

<sup>18</sup> Codrington (22), 254.

<sup>19</sup> Jenness and Ballantyne (75), 114.

sometimes on earth, and sometimes as regards his reception on arrival—and are generally not intended for use,<sup>1</sup> as is definitely stated by Codrington, speaking of Florida; 'for these things are not set up that they may in a ghostly manner accompany their former owner, they are set there for a memorial of him as a great and valued man'; and his fruit-trees are cut down because 'he will never eat again, and no one else shall have them'.<sup>2</sup> This is corroborated by Mr. Penny, who spent twenty years in Melanesia as a missionary. He describes how the inheritors of the dead man's property brought certain proportions of it to the funeral, to be buried with the deceased, but not with the idea that he will want the money in his new abode. 'I used', he says, 'to think that this was the case . . . when, however, I came to know Florida well enough to understand the general conversation, I came to the conclusion that it was only a tax upon the legatees.'<sup>3</sup> From this it looks as though the old idea of tabu were fading away—although still applying to the destruction of fruit-trees—and the inheritance has become a kind of legal transaction in which the dead man receives a share as payment. The stigma of tabu still attaches, however, to the more personal property of the deceased, such as pipes, tobacco, &c., as these are placed for a few days on a framework outside his house, and are explained as being for the use of the soul until its final departure.<sup>4</sup>

In Leper Island (New Hebrides) the deceased is recognized as a great man by what he has with him and upon him, but there is no idea that the 'souls' of the grave-gifts go with the ghost, and 'it raises a smile to ask whether there be the *tamtegi* (ghost) of a bow'.<sup>5</sup> But when the notion appears that the property of the dead man hung round the grave and tabu to all others is also a sign of wealth on arrival in the land of spirits, and that funeral-gifts by the relatives will further increase his importance, it is only another step to assume that these objects too have souls which accompany the soul of the dead man. Thus Brown tells us that in New Britain the animals sacrificed at funerals are only a mark of respect, and as payment to those who assist at the

<sup>1</sup> Codrington (22), 267, &c.; G. Brown (15), 387, 398; Parkinson (123), 79; Burger (17), 32; Hadfield (57), 215.

<sup>2</sup> Codrington (22), 255.

<sup>4</sup> Penny (125), 55.

<sup>3</sup> Penny (125), 54-5.

<sup>5</sup> Codrington (22), 285.



services; while money, weapons, and property, and, in fact, often all the wealth of the family, are placed near the corpse, with the idea that the souls of these articles may be taken by the spirit of the dead man for his reception in the afterworld. Most of this property is afterwards removed by those to whom it belongs.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it is possible that Brown was over-hasty in concluding that these articles had actually 'souls' (although this is the natural deduction for the logical mind), as he does not definitely state that this was the native belief; in other parts of Melanesia we have seen that this idea is actually denied, and from a primitive point of view grave-gifts may well be intended to accompany a dead man as a sign of his rank or wealth, even though they have been removed later on, without any such elaborate doctrine of 'souls of inanimate objects' or 'spiritualized aspects' which is suggestive of a more advanced stage of culture (cf. p. 190).

(b) *To appease ghost.* In British and ex-German New Guinea, grave-gifts are usually more or less propitiatory. Among the Bulaa, &c., of Hood Point presents of food are placed before the corpse, not as food for the dead man, but to appease the wrath of his relations;<sup>2</sup> and among the Cape King William tribes and in the Northern D'Entrecasteaux offerings are said to keep the soul away from the village;<sup>3</sup> while the pig-killing at the Mafulu (whose rites are borrowed from the Mekeo) funeral will finally propitiate and drive away the ghost.<sup>4</sup> This fear of offending the ghost is really bound up with the tabu which is associated with anything that has been used by him or belongs to him, especially the former. Thus even the spears, drums, and conch-shells used to drive off the ghost in the Northern D'Entrecasteaux must be thrown into the sea or he will come again,<sup>5</sup> and although the Bukaua of Huon Gulf remove the valuables before final burial, the more personal property of the deceased (which is more intimately connected with him and therefore more highly tabu) is buried with him.<sup>6</sup>

(c) *Tabu.* In Polynesia the custom of grave-gifts, when it appears, seems to rest definitely on tabu. In Samoa several

<sup>1</sup> G. Brown (15), 192.

<sup>2</sup> Guise (50), 210.

<sup>3</sup> Stolz (164), iii. 245; Jenness and Ballantyne (75), 120.

<sup>4</sup> Williamson (189), 273.

<sup>5</sup> Jenness and Ballantyne (75), 120.

<sup>6</sup> Lehner (93), iii. 470.

things used in a chief's last illness were deposited with the body, not to be of use to him, but lest they spread disease (i. e. by infringement of tabu); the presents at the grave were efforts on the part of the living to be on good terms with the deceased, lest he return to visit them,<sup>1</sup> and seem to be connected with the funeral display rather than with the welfare of the ghost. The Maori themselves say that tabu is the reason for grave-gifts at their funerals, the property of the dead man, especially the things used during his last illness, being interred with him. If a chief were very great, his friends brought a 'covering' (i. e. a present) for him of garments, dogs, greenstone ornaments, canoes, &c.; after the return from the funeral these were placed in water, formulae were said by the priest and the tabu removed, when they were distributed among the relations. A similar ceremony took place at the *hahunga* (scraping of the bones).<sup>2</sup> The custom in Niūe reported by Turner of cutting down the trees of the deceased 'so that they might go with him'<sup>3</sup> is also probably due to tabu, as in cases of destruction of property elsewhere (cf. pp. 182, 189).

When special foods, especially those eaten by the dead man during his last illness, are placed on the grave, it would seem that the practice is really connected with tabu, although explained as part of the ghost's outfit for his journey. Thus in Bartle Bay (South Massim) various kinds of food eaten by the sick man during his last illness are placed on the corpse, to be the sustenance of the deceased on his way to the other world. But another explanation, heard independently by Professor Seligman and Mr. Newton, was that the widow may not eat the same kinds of food which the husband ate during his last illness, and the burial-food in the grave is a sort of advertisement.<sup>4</sup> This certainly looks like a reinterpretation of tabu, which is specially prominent in South Massim in connexion with the widow of the dead man and his property.<sup>5</sup> Among the Mono of the Bougainville Straits, the two cakes placed under the arm of the corpse and buried with it were called *tamari*, which means food taken on a journey, and there is also a tabu on the kind of food eaten by the dead man while sick;<sup>6</sup> although there is no

<sup>1</sup> Turner (176), 259.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor (166), 218, 227-8.

<sup>3</sup> Turner (176), 306.

<sup>4</sup> Seligman (146), 617.

<sup>5</sup> Field (38), 339, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Wheeler (181), 69, 83.

definite evidence of a connexion between the two, the cutting down of coco-nuts growing near the grave, and the sinking in the sea of the remains of goods not burnt on the pyre,<sup>1</sup> point to tabu as the underlying motive of grave-gifts here also.

(d) *Indication of sex or status.* Things placed on a grave sometimes seem to serve the purely practical purpose of marking the spot or indicating whose grave it is. Thus on the soul-houses of the Besisi of the Malay Peninsula are placed various symbols representing the sex of the dead person, and Martin thinks it possible that some of the objects hung up are in the first place a way of marking the spot, or a kind of tombstone<sup>2</sup> (cf. p. 179). Among the Orang Laut Kappir of Trang (Malay Peninsula) men were given imitation daggers (nominally to fight 'spirits'), but women rice-stirrers,<sup>3</sup> and at either end of a Sea-Dyak grave is put something indicative of the sex and favourite occupation of the deceased;<sup>4</sup> in Ponape (Carolines) a paddle is placed on a man's grave, and a spindle on a woman's,<sup>5</sup> and in the Mariannes a spear or rudder by a temporary grave shows whether the dead man were warrior or seafarer.<sup>6</sup> No doubt, in places where secondary burial was customary, it was often necessary to mark the temporary grave carefully, that it might be found again when the time came for exhumation. Sarasin came across perpendicular posts with upright bamboos and wooden cross-pieces in Central Celebes, which denoted such temporary graves;<sup>7</sup> and the Andamanese mark their graves with wreaths hung on the trees, that the same place may not be used twice,<sup>8</sup> while in Timor the knowledge of 'who is who' among the remains awaiting final burial is handed down from generation to generation.<sup>9</sup>

### § 3. *Broken Grave-gifts.*

In certain instances we find evidence that the grave-gifts have been intentionally broken or damaged before being placed with the corpse, and this is often said to be a method of 'killing' these objects in order that they may go with the dead man to the

<sup>1</sup> Wheeler (181), 67, 79.

<sup>2</sup> Annandale and Robinson (3), i. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 377.

<sup>4</sup> Sarasin (142), i. 273.

<sup>5</sup> Forbes (41), 436.

<sup>2</sup> Martin (109), 926-9.

<sup>4</sup> Ling Roth (94), 121.

<sup>6</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 404.

<sup>8</sup> Man (106), 76.

spirit-land. It is, however, much more likely that the true reason is a far more practical one, such as the prevention of theft, or the ban of tabu through which everything connected with a dead person is destroyed, often assisted by the cupidity of the relatives, who prefer to keep the valuables and only bury useless worn-out things, shielding themselves behind some plausible doctrine of the kind mentioned above.

Unfortunately our information on this subject is rather restricted, as many authors omit to say whether or not the grave-gifts are broken, but in Borneo it certainly looks as though the breaking of objects placed on the grave were a comparatively recent innovation, due to fear of theft. The original custom seems to be that of the Kayan, of whom Mr. Hose reports that they deposit clothes and weapons of the highest value with the dead man, 'no broken or damaged article being deemed worthy of a place in the grave, as they wish the spirit of the deceased to appear to advantage on his arrival in the other world',<sup>1</sup> and the personal property hung round the Kayan tomb is usually unspoiled (except gongs).<sup>2</sup> Among other Bornean tribes, however, only the things actually buried are left intact, all the articles hung outside a tomb being broken to prevent theft. The Sea-Dyaks bury so much valuable property with the dead, that a father who has lost many children is often reduced to poverty;<sup>3</sup> but the spears, baskets, gongs, &c., which are put on the surface, are broken to render them useless to aliens who might steal them.<sup>4</sup> This danger is a very real one. When Nieuwenhuis visited a Prihing (Bahau) burial-place containing coffins surrounded by grave-gifts, the Kayans who were with him wished to take some of the latter as trophies, in order to anger the Prihing, with whom they often quarrel,<sup>5</sup> and in the Baram District it is specially important to have graves inaccessible to head-hunters, who might dig up the skull.<sup>6</sup> Anything which will not fit into the coffin, and has to be left outside, is often broken by the Kayan-Bahau for fear of Malay thieves;<sup>7</sup> and the Klemantans spoil all things hung upon a tomb, probably for the same reason, although they say that it is because everything

<sup>1</sup> Hose (70), 165.

<sup>2</sup> Low (100), 204.

<sup>3</sup> Nieuwenhuis (122), i. 376-8.

<sup>7</sup> Nieuwenhuis (122), i. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 204.

<sup>6</sup> Furness (43), 144.



in the other world is the opposite to this, and that therefore broken things will appear whole hereafter.<sup>1</sup> The same explanation is given by the Sakai of Kinta Ulu (Perak) in the Malay Peninsula, one of whom told Evans that a blowpipe which was intact would appear to be broken, and if it were broken it would seem to be intact, and the author concludes that this is 'evidently done with the object of setting free the souls of the offerings for the use of the spirits'.<sup>2</sup> The Mantra (Jakun) also place a broken blowpipe upon the grave, intended for the use of the grave-ghost.<sup>3</sup> But as in both these instances the articles concerned are placed *outside* the grave, and—as in Borneo—are exposed to the danger of theft by Malays, is it not more probable that here too the custom is a recent innovation for practical purposes, for which an ingenious explanation is now given?

Elsewhere the practice can be definitely traced to the tabu by which the dead man's possessions may not be touched by others, because of their inherent contagion, and through fear of offending his ghost; or, as the natives of Florida explain the cutting down of the fruit-trees of the deceased, 'he will never eat again, and no one else shall have them';<sup>4</sup> and in Eddystone Island that the deceased 'is cross' and does 'something no good' to the man who keeps his possessions.<sup>5</sup> It is a very common practice to destroy the plants and trees which belonged to the dead man, as is done, for instance, by the Sulka, &c., of New Britain,<sup>6</sup> the Bukaua of Huon Gulf,<sup>7</sup> in Ysabel,<sup>8</sup> San Cristoval,<sup>9</sup> and Eddystone Island,<sup>10</sup> in Niue,<sup>11</sup> and among the Milano, &c., of Borneo; and his house is generally allowed to fall into ruin (e. g. Florida,<sup>12</sup> Wedau and Wamira of Goodenough Bay, North Massim,<sup>13</sup> Northern D'Entrecasteaux,<sup>14</sup> Sakai and Jakun<sup>15</sup> of the Malay Peninsula, &c.). Other possessions are sometimes destroyed too, as in the Aru Islands, including the canoe of the deceased (which is now interpreted as going with him to the afterworld,<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Evans (36), 181.

<sup>3</sup> Logan (99), 325.

<sup>4</sup> Codrington (22), 255.

<sup>6</sup> Hocart (200), 81.

<sup>5</sup> Parkinson (123), 75, 185.

<sup>7</sup> Lehner (93), iii. 470.

<sup>8</sup> Penny (125), 68.

<sup>9</sup> Verguet (178), 207.

<sup>10</sup> Hocart (200), 81.

<sup>11</sup> Turner (176), 306.

<sup>12</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 145.

<sup>13</sup> Codrington (22), 255.

<sup>14</sup> Newton (121), 227.

<sup>15</sup> Jenness and Ballantyne (75), 114.

<sup>16</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 89, 100, 106, 111; Hale (59), 291.

<sup>17</sup> Kruijt (83), 358.

cf. p. 29), and all the goods which he may have collected during life, even the gongs being broken, because the survivors have 'no right to make use of them'.<sup>1</sup> In Savo (East Solomons) the property accumulated during a man's lifetime is thrown with him into the sea at the funeral,<sup>2</sup> and the personal property of the deceased is also destroyed in the Paumotu Archipelago,<sup>3</sup> and among the Coast People of the Gazelle Peninsula,<sup>4</sup> &c.). In the Nicobar Islands all possessions of the dead should be destroyed theoretically, but now this is confined to personal property.<sup>5</sup>

Besides being a modification of the total destruction of whatever had been associated with the dead man, the breaking of the grave-gifts also ensures that they are not used again (even unintentionally) by any one, such an offence being harmful to the community and displeasing to the ghost. In South-East Celebes Sarasin came across mausolea belonging to important people, full of grave-gifts, many of which had been intentionally broken;<sup>6</sup> while the numerous objects found in other Celeban burial-places were protected by the inaccessibility of the cave-sepulchres, the entrances of which were blocked with rocks, not to mention the extreme dread displayed by the natives at the idea of approaching them, a *liang* (rock-tomb) theft being considered one of the most heinous of crimes.<sup>7</sup>

Among more sophisticated peoples, this provides an excuse for burying useless worn-out objects and keeping the best things, a very common practice in British New Guinea. The Koita (west of Port Moresby) arrange the broken property round a bundle (*tobi*), which is thrown away at the final funeral ceremony, but all the valuable ornaments and costly nets of the dead man are not broken, but are removed from the corpse before burial, and eventually divided among the relations;<sup>8</sup> similarly the Motu-Motu of Freshwater Bay place a broken bow, arrows, spoon, &c., by the grave, and bury all the valuables of the deceased with him, but after an interval the latter are dug up again, and taken away.<sup>9</sup> For the relations to appropriate most of the valuables, either by stripping the corpse (e. g. Bukaua of Huon Gulf,<sup>10</sup> and Cape King William tribes<sup>11</sup>) before

<sup>1</sup> Kloss (80), 304.<sup>2</sup> Woodford (192), 37.<sup>3</sup> Meinicke (112), ii. 218.<sup>4</sup> Burger (17), 33.<sup>5</sup> Kloss (80), 304.<sup>6</sup> Sarasin (142), i. 353-4.<sup>7</sup> Grubauer (49), 131-2, 134, 207, 258.<sup>8</sup> Seligman (146), 160-1.<sup>9</sup> Chalmers (18), 330.<sup>10</sup> Lehner (93), iii. 470.<sup>11</sup> Stolz (164), iii. 258.

burial, or holding back the best things, is quite common; as, for instance, in Tube-Tube (Slade Island, South Massim), where they become the perquisite of the grave-diggers,<sup>1</sup> and in New Zealand, where they are recovered at the exhumation, when the tabu has been removed;<sup>2</sup> while in the East Solomons the ornaments and money buried with a man are often dug up secretly,<sup>3</sup> and also among the Jabim of Huon Gulf 'if needed'.<sup>4</sup>

Sometimes this is excused by some theory that the 'souls' only go to the spirit-land, as in the Trobriand Islands (North Massim), where the corpse is carefully stripped of all valuables just before burial, while the soul carries them with him 'in their spiritual aspect' as a present for the guardian of *Tuma*<sup>5</sup> (cf. also New Britain, pp. 183-4). Moreover, it is interesting to note that, except in connexion with the conveyance of grave-gifts, it is extremely rare to find any belief in the existence of souls of inanimate objects which actually go to the spirit-land, and this doctrine is flatly denied in South Melanesia, e. g. Banks Islands, New Hebrides, and Florida. Mr. Hocart was told by natives of Eddystone Island that the property of the deceased was broken because the dead man is cross, or to prevent theft; but one man said that they made the rings 'no good' to be like rotting, and that their 'shadow' (*galagala*) goes to *Sonto*.<sup>6</sup> The latter is probably a secondary explanation of more recent origin (cf. p. 183).

From this it appears that the destruction of grave-gifts may be due to practical causes, whatever the explanation now given. In Borneo the fear of theft has caused the spoiling of things left on the surface of the graves, which the Klemantans explain by the theory of opposites. (As spirit-worship is more developed among many Klemantan tribes, especially the Milano,<sup>7</sup> and putting things upside down or wrong way round is a favourite way of deceiving evil spirits, this idea of broken things here being intact hereafter would be a very natural interpretation, as also among the Sakai, who have a great dread of death and of the grave-ghost.) Elsewhere the breaking of grave-gifts is in many cases a modified form of the total destruction of the dead man's

<sup>1</sup> Seligman (146), 613.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor (166), 219.

<sup>3</sup> Codrington (22), 254.

<sup>4</sup> Zahn (195), iii. 322.

<sup>5</sup> Malinowski (105), 359; Seligman (146), 715.

<sup>6</sup> Hocart (200), 81.

<sup>7</sup> Laurence and Hewitt (91), 405-6.

property for reasons connected with tabu, and is found a very convenient practice by the relations, who wish to keep the best things, only broken and useless objects now being buried instead of deliberate spoiling of the articles. The explanation that the breaking sets free the 'souls' of these inanimate objects seems to be an artificial attempt to account for the custom, especially as such a doctrine of souls hardly ever occurs except in this connexion, and is emphatically denied in several places.

There is a tendency to explain all grave-gifts as being for use in the hereafter, but if we enquire more closely into the native point of view, we find that this is by no means universal. In Polynesia and Melanesia the fundamental idea seems to be tabu, and the eschatological explanation is secondary, varying with the local form of belief. Thus, in the New Britain Archipelago and South Melanesia, the burial of the property of the dead man is part of the general desire to get rid of all that has been in contact with him, with a hazy idea that it belongs to him in the next world, and will make him appear to advantage there, though that such things too have souls is generally denied; in New Guinea it is usually said to be due to fear of the ghost's displeasure, which is probably a concrete way of expressing the vague danger of the tabu connected with death, as shown by the digging up of the grave-gifts at the end of the mourning period (when tabu is over); in Polynesia this practice is obviously part of tabu. The occasional interpretation that grave-gifts are intended for the guardian, or go to the spirit-land in their 'spiritual aspect' (Trobriands), seems to be an attempt to explain them, fostered by greedy relatives.

In Indonesia, however, especially in Borneo, Celebes, and the Malay Peninsula, grave-gifts are now definitely intended for the use of the dead man during his temporary sojourn, or in the hereafter, or as an admission-fee; but even here the latter interpretations seem to be secondary, as the result of the growth in importance of ritual, and grave-gifts originally were probably due to tabu, or indications of status, or even, perhaps, in some cases, merely ways of marking the grave. With the development of a definite land of the dead, and especially of a difficulty in being admitted to it, many other interpretations



arose, such as propitiating a guardian or the other spirits, or making an impression on arrival, or denoting the rank and position (and thus the mode of life in the hereafter as in this life) of the deceased. When the idea of a journey to the spirit-land appeared, often as the result of tribal migrations, and the details of this journey became a prominent feature of the beliefs about the soul, rites for which other interpretations had hitherto been given were now reinterpreted, and picturesque details added to the rites themselves (such as the ladder to climb precipices among the Kayan-Bahau) supplied the necessary local colour. This reinterpretation of ritual generally belongs to a stage when the ceremonies have become very complicated, and details have assumed extraordinary importance and power, until a definite meaning has been attributed to each one, however trifling.

*The placing of food on the grave* may sometimes have begun as an attempt to revive the dead man, later interpreted as giving the ghost strength for his journey (cf. p. 136), or in a few cases is due to the tabu on the food last eaten by the dying person. But generally food as a grave-gift is definitely intended for the ghost during his temporary sojourn (cf. p. 93), and is thus (unlike most of the other ritual which we have discussed) the conscious result of a belief.

*The breaking of grave-gifts* is due in the first place, among many peoples, to fear of theft; elsewhere it is generally part of the common custom of the destruction of the deceased's property. Its eschatological meaning seems usually to be an intentional subterfuge or a later interpretation, often inspired by the cupidity of the relations, who encourage the idea that grave-gifts should consist of broken articles, and find the doctrine of 'souls' a convenient excuse for keeping the best things.

## XVI

### HUMAN SACRIFICE

THE custom of sacrificing human beings at funerals, for the most part the wives or slaves of the dead man, must formerly have been very widely distributed throughout the whole of the area under consideration, although it is now extinct except in a few places, the sacrificing of animals or the procuring of skulls having been substituted for it in many instances.

Three main motives underly this practice, in some cases converging and borrowing from each other; though the explanation is almost always given that this form of human sacrifice is intended to provide companions or slaves for the dead man in his future life.

(a) *In honour of the dead.* This is generally confined to great chiefs, a human sacrifice being an essential part of any great ceremony, and the victim is usually a captive or a slave.

(b) *As property.* This is merely an extension of the idea that a man's possessions are placed in his grave and go with him to the afterworld, and chiefly affects the widow, whose life is so intimately bound up with his that were she spared she would have to undergo a long period of tabu.

(c) *Blood-revenge.* As death is generally considered to be the result of evil magic, the exaction of a life for a life is doubly necessary, and the supposed culprit—or a substitute—is executed upon the grave of his victim.

It will be seen that (a) and (c) have certain similarities and may easily react on each other, while (b) gives more scope for eschatological explanations which supply a strong motive for keeping up the custom, even on the part of the victims themselves: the former are best illustrated in Borneo, Nias, and Celebes, while the latter is typical of Melanesia. We will now consider the matter in more detail.

#### § I. *Bornean Type.*

The case of Borneo is of special interest as showing the connexion between head-hunting, blood-revenge, and human

sacrifice. The Kayans, who sacrifice human beings at funerals, are also celebrated head-hunters, and are probably responsible for the introduction of this practice, which has spread to the Klemantans and other Bornean tribes.<sup>1</sup> It therefore seems certain that at the funeral of a chief the collecting of heads would be part of the proceedings as on every other great occasion. Among the former (also among the Kenyahs and Klemantans) it sometimes happens that on returning from a successful head-hunting raid one of the newly taken heads will be brought to the tomb of a chief for whom they are mourning, and hung upon or deposited within the tomb,<sup>2</sup> in the Baram District a head-hunting expedition takes place to bring back a skull for the last funeral-feast of a dead chief,<sup>3</sup> and among the Bahau Tring natives of the Upper Mahakkam River the captives of head-hunting raids are kept as slaves to serve as sacrifices on various occasions, their number being increased at the death of a great chief by presents of 'slave-debtors' from the richer members of the community<sup>4</sup> (i. e. a form of grave-gift). Besides forming the central feature at the funeral of a great chief, human sacrifices were performed at the building of a new house and on returning from a successful war-expedition.<sup>5</sup> On one occasion the Kenyahs and Kayans returned from a raid, but only the former had secured heads. The Kayans took an old woman, one of the captives, and killed her by driving a long pole against her abdomen, as many as possible taking part in the proceedings, after which the head was divided among them, and the flesh hung up by the river, as is done with the bodies of slain enemies and of the pigs which are slaughtered on these occasions.<sup>6</sup> This is evidently a development of head-hunting.

But elsewhere, especially among the indigenous tribes, another motive appears, namely that of blood-revenge. The head-hunting expedition for a chief's funeral-feast in the Baram District just mentioned is practically an avenging party for his death, and the subsequent ten days tabu which keeps the men idle in the village, even preventing their going to the jungle for rattans, serves the useful purpose of providing adequate pro-

<sup>1</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), i. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Furness (43), 91-2.

<sup>3</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 104.

<sup>4</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), i. 190.

<sup>5</sup> Bock (13), 219.

<sup>6</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 105.

tection for the house, lest it be surprised by a retaliating raid.<sup>1</sup> Formerly on the death of a Berawan chief, if the people were too lazy or cowardly to go head-hunting, a slave (male or female) was purchased and sacrificed in honour of the dead. The victim was kept in a cage for a week or more until the guests had assembled, and after the feast each one in turn thrust a spear into the living captive, and then the final thrust was given, the corpse being taken to the chief's grave and the head placed on a pole overhead.<sup>2</sup> Messrs. Hose and McDougall give an account of a similar occurrence among the Orang Bukit (Klemantans) of the Bruni territory, where a slave was purchased by the son of a dead chief and done to death in the same manner;<sup>3</sup> and on another occasion a Murut slave who had treacherously murdered the son of a great Kayan chief in the Baram was killed by a multitude of small stabs by the infuriated Kayan women,<sup>4</sup> so that it looks as though this method of execution were the recognized form of exacting blood-revenge. Even among the now elaborate ceremonies of the Sea-Dyaks of Sarawak the original motive of blood-revenge appears. At the *sumping* funeral-feast symbols and trophies of a head-hunting raid are brought to be 'conveyed' by the wailer to the land of the dead; but this observance cannot be held until the head of an enemy has been obtained, so that the relations in the spirit-land may say 'My death has been avenged. A life has been paid for my life'.<sup>5</sup> Kruijt tells us that at a Central Bornean funeral a person of another tribe was bought and slowly speared to death,<sup>6</sup> and a slave was killed in the same way by the Dusun at a funeral (now interpreted as taking messages to the deceased from his relations<sup>7</sup>), while a freshly taken skull was also necessary for the funeral-feast among the Kayan-Bahau (now generally replaced by human hair), again probably a relic of human sacrifice.<sup>8</sup> The very fact that one victim only is generally required on these occasions seems to point to blood-revenge as one of the chief

<sup>1</sup> Furness (43), 91-2, 96.

<sup>2</sup> Furness (43), 140.

<sup>3</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), i. 192; ii. 105. This was a sort of religious rite in which 500 people took part, and was said to be the revival of an old but almost obsolete custom.

<sup>4</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), i. 191-2.

<sup>5</sup> Gomes (48), 141; Ling Roth (95), i. 207.

<sup>6</sup> Kruijt (84), 242.

<sup>7</sup> Pryer (131), 234.

<sup>8</sup> Nieuwenhuis (122), i. 92.



motives, although the head-hunting customs of the Kayan culture have tended to obscure its true significance.

With the rise of elaborate eschatological belief in Borneo (cf. pp. 180-1, 191-2), these funeral sacrifices—like the rest of funerary ritual—are explained as providing for the journey or future welfare of the dead chief, and the number of victims is accordingly increased. But that this is a later interpretation is shown by the fact that in south-east Borneo the victim was first exorcised so that a 'soul-less' body might be slain,<sup>1</sup> which is a natural precaution in the case of an act of revenge, but quite at variance with the idea that the soul should accompany the dead man as his companion or slave. The Kayans, however, say that they used to kill one to three slaves at the death of a chief, and nail them to the tomb that they might go with him on his long journey and paddle the canoe in which he must travel,<sup>2</sup> and in South Borneo the bodies of the human victims slain at a chief's death to become his attendants hereafter are placed with his in the mausoleum;<sup>3</sup> while the mortuary-post (*klirieng*) of the indigenous Bornean tribes has niches up its side for the bodies of slaves and followers with the chief's remains at the top.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes the victim is allowed to starve to death in accordance with the theory that violent deaths would go to a separate division of the afterworld, and so be useless to the dead chief (cf. p. 142), and this is especially the case among the Milano, who have elaborated the theory of the eschatological value of these grave-attendants. A slave was sometimes bound to the top of the Milano mortuary-post (*jerunet*) and allowed to starve to death, or buried alive, in order to accompany the deceased hereafter,<sup>5</sup> and among the Ida'an it is thought that 'the passage for men into Paradise is over a long tree, which, unless they have killed a man, is scarce practicable, perhaps for want of the slaves' assistance.'<sup>6</sup> The Kayans

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (84), 242.

<sup>2</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Low (100), 335; Bock (13), 229.

<sup>4</sup> Ling Roth (94), 123. The *klirieng* is a single or double carved pillar with a hollow at the top for the jar containing the chief's bones, indigenous to the Rivers Rejang and Baloi, and used by the Kajaman, &c., and also by the Punan, and must be distinguished from the iron-wood burial-chamber built on piles known as *salong* or *sandong*, which is a Kayan institution.

<sup>5</sup> Laurence and Hewitt (91), 404; Ling Roth (95), i. 141; Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 46; De Crespigny (26), 35.

<sup>6</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 159 (quoting Dalrymple).

also have been known to leave a slave or captive bound to a tomb until he dies from exposure to the sun, but this was looked at askance by the Kayans of other villages.<sup>1</sup> (Is this because it is an indigenous custom and foreign to the intrusive Kayans?) With the Milano a human being has become a regular part of the provision for the dead man, and a slave woman was often chained to the soul-boat containing his food and possessions when it was drifted out to sea.<sup>2</sup>

Among certain tribes such as the Ida'an, where head-hunting has now acquired an eschatological interpretation, the custom has developed to such an extent that a human sacrifice takes place on every occasion, for, the greater the number of heads taken by an individual, the higher his rank in the next world, and thus the greater his prestige here. But that such skulls are fundamentally a mark of prowess and the 'most valuable of goods' rather than a ritual means of securing benefits in the hereafter is shown by St. John's account of the Pakatan Japer, who had thirty-five people murdered to ease his heart when he lost two grand-children, but denied that head-hunting is a religious ceremony, it being merely to show bravery 'that it may be said that so-and-so has obtained heads'. When they quarrel it is a constant phrase, 'How many heads did your father . . . get?' If less than his own number, 'Well, then, you have no occasion to be proud!' <sup>3</sup> Like tatuing and grave-gifts they are part of the dead man's wealth, and share in the reinterpretation given to these (cf. pp. 180-1).

Vestiges of human sacrifice survive in the substitution of pigs or fowls in sacrifices at Kayan feasts,<sup>4</sup> in the Milano sham-fight on return from a burial which is reminiscent of a head-hunt in honour of (or to avenge?) the deceased,<sup>5</sup> and in the small wooden human figures which are placed standing on the roof or climbing up the poles of the burial-posts in the Baram,<sup>6</sup> and under the grave-hut of the Dusun of Tempassuk and Tuaran,<sup>7</sup> or the two small images attached to the Kayan coffin.<sup>8</sup> It is possible, however, that in the latter case the figures may represent the

<sup>1</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), i. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Ling Roth (95), i. 145 (quoting Brooke).

<sup>3</sup> Ling Roth (95), ii. 141-2.

<sup>4</sup> Furness (43), 141.

<sup>7</sup> Evans (34), 391.

<sup>4</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 104, 105.

<sup>6</sup> Furness (43), 143.

<sup>8</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), ii. 34.

rowers who formerly brought back the dead man to his tribal home, the Kayans being an immigrant people, especially as the coffin is canoe-shaped (cf. p. 25).

It has been suggested by Messrs. Hose and McDougall that the Bornean head-hunting practices (head-taking probably having been introduced by the immigrant Kayans and having spread to the Klemantans and other tribes) arose out of the Kayan custom of slaying slaves at a chief's death in order that they might accompany him, co-operating with an extension of the Kenyah and Klemantan habit of using human hair to complete the representation of a human head on a shield; that from motives of economy an enemy was substituted for a slave; and that the covering of the head offered on a chief's tomb was intended to disguise this substitution.<sup>1</sup> It has, however, been shown above (p. 195) that in certain known cases a slave has been substituted for an enemy and not the other way round, that a head-hunting raid was a common feature at any great Kayan festival and was not confined to funerals (p. 194), and that human hair is a recent substitute for a human skull (itself a survival of human sacrifice) at the funeral-feast (p. 195). Another instance of the substitution of a slave for an enemy is recorded among the Murut, where a party had been out head-hunting for a fortnight, but had failed to find a member of another tribe, so seized one of their own slaves and made a scape-goat of him.<sup>2</sup> This is also the view taken by Kruijt, who considers that the slaughter of slaves is later than head-hunting, and that the idea of providing the dead man with a servant is probably also more recent.<sup>3</sup> Pryer says that it was much more difficult to persuade the Dusun to abandon the collective killing of a slave at a funeral (as distinguished from the substitution of slaves for heads), than the practice of head-hunting,<sup>4</sup> as though the former were an old custom, unlike the taking of heads brought in by the Kayan culture. I would therefore suggest that the Bornean practices are due to a convergence of the Kayan custom of head-hunting to celebrate great occasions, with the avenging-party and ritual execution at the grave of the indigenous peoples. With the development of the notion that such victims become the

<sup>1</sup> Hose and McDougall (71), i. 188-90.

<sup>2</sup> Ling Roth (95), ii. 163.

<sup>3</sup> Kruijt (84), 242.

<sup>4</sup> Pryer (131), 234.

attendants of the deceased after death, the custom is elaborated (especially among the Milano, whose eschatological theories are more complicated) by increasing the number of victims, who are now generally slaves, by allowing them to starve in order to avoid the separation in the hereafter thought to follow a violent death, and by including human beings among the grave-gifts.

The complete convergence of the head-hunting and blood-revenge motives, reinterpreted in the light of eschatological belief, is shown by the Ida'an, who believe that all whom they kill in this world shall attend them as slaves after death, and will purchase a slave guilty of a capital crime at five times his value, that they may be his executioners.<sup>1</sup>

We will now return to the other motive in the Bornean type of human sacrifice, namely that of blood-revenge. In Nias, and formerly among the Toba-Battak of Sumatra,<sup>2</sup> we find a form of sacrifice much resembling the 'bloodless sacrifice' (Kruijt's term) of the Milano (cf. p. 196), which is the more interesting owing to the fact that the latter are probably closely related to the wilder tribes of Sumatra and the other islands.<sup>3</sup> Formerly (cf. Rosenberg 1854 and Piepers 1862) at the death of a chief in Nias, a slave was tied to the roof of the house where he lay, and when about to die of hunger was brought to expire on the corpse of the great man: another slave had to drink the liquids from the corpse until he was suffocated. According to another account (from Donleben) a prisoner was forced to dig up, clean, and arrange the bones a year after burial, after which he was beheaded and his head fastened to the feet of the corpse.<sup>4</sup> This custom survives in the choosing of a slave at a chief's burial, upon whom falls the duty of exhuming and cleaning the bones.<sup>5</sup> In Nias the victim is always a prisoner or a slave, and there too occurs the belief in an afterworld divided up according to manner of death (cf. Milano, p. 196): may it not be that here also, as in Borneo, a practice founded on blood-revenge became a ritual act of eschatological importance, in which death by starvation has supplanted judicial execution, being itself modified later on into the more humane 'bloodless sacrifice' of recent times?

<sup>1</sup> Ling Roth (95), ii. 141 (quoting Dalrymple).

<sup>2</sup> Kruijt (84), 242.

<sup>3</sup> Laurence and Hewitt (91), 406.

<sup>4</sup> Modigliani (113), 281.

<sup>5</sup> Kruijt (83), 332.



Human sacrifice in Central Celebes bears a strong resemblance to that of Borneo. A slave was formerly killed at his master's funeral and buried beside him in a small grave among the To Napu,<sup>1</sup> while in the Lake Lindu Region and in Kulawi the remains of a chief cannot be buried until a victim has been kidnapped from a neighbouring tribe, tied to a pillar in the house, and pierced with spears until he dies.<sup>2</sup> This is very like the Bornean practice, and seems again to be a sort of ritual, as human sacrifices of this kind are also made at the failure of the harvest;<sup>3</sup> possibly it is founded on blood-revenge, and among these warlike peoples has become a favourite feature of any great ceremony. Wars among the Tolalaki of south-east Celebes are generally due to getting a head for the burial of a prince,<sup>4</sup> and a head-hunting victim (sometimes a slave bought from another tribe) was required at a funeral among the Toradja and in Minahassa, probably partly in honour of the deceased, whose brave deeds are often enumerated by the survivors and are supposed to be useful in passing the guardian.<sup>5</sup> In Tambulu human sacrifice survived in a modified form as the grave-watcher: here an unfortunate slave had to watch beside the tomb of a great man and comb the lock of his hair which hung out over the rim, and was considered as a 'living-dead man', with whom no one might speak or have any communication.<sup>6</sup> A similar custom occurs among the Toradja on the south and east of Lake Posso, and also among the Balinese, and (formerly) the Toba-Battak<sup>7</sup> of Sumatra.

From these examples it will be seen that in Celebes the victims are not supposed to accompany the dead man, but the connexion is rather with the glorification of a chief, or the slaying of a foreigner in revenge. (Kruijt's tentative suggestion about passing the guardian is merely an extension of the qualification of valour of which the skulls are a sign.) By comparison with Borneo, we may therefore suggest that human sacrifice in Celebes is also due to the amalgamation of blood-revenge with the head-hunting raids which celebrate any event of importance; but that here the practice (unlike Borneo) has

<sup>1</sup> Grubauer (49), 485-6.

<sup>3</sup> Sarasin (142), ii. 45.

<sup>6</sup> Kruijt (84), 242.

<sup>2</sup> Sarasin (142), ii. 45, 53-4.

<sup>4</sup> Sarasin (142), i. 374.

<sup>6</sup> Adriani (2), 145.

<sup>7</sup> Kruijt (84), 242.

probably not been reinterpreted in terms of belief, except as an additional admission-qualification of valour in the case of the Toradja.

Widow-sacrifice is unknown in Indonesia, except in Java, Bali, and Lombok, and in the two former at any rate is due to Hindu influence.<sup>1</sup>

## § 2. *Melanesian Type.*

Of a totally different nature is the practice of killing the wives, and occasionally the slaves, of the dead man at his grave, which must formerly have been very widespread in Melanesia, and which seems to be chiefly connected with ideas of property and tabu, especially as regards the intimate bond of a magical nature which is believed to exist between a man and his wife.

This type of human sacrifices reaches its furthest development in Fiji. Here the mother and wives of the dead man are the first victims to be 'grass' for his grave, and their strangled bodies are placed beneath his corpse, after which a strong man is slain: in the case of a king's funeral witnessed by Williams, a family on the opposite coast (Vanua Levu) had the privilege of supplying a man for this purpose. The strong man is supposed to accompany the dead chief in order to secure the guardian while the latter passes by, and the wives enable him to escape *Nanga-Nanga* who lies in wait for bachelors.<sup>2</sup> The survivors are not altogether disinterested in the strangling of the widow, for by this means they secure the landed property of the deceased, 'to obtain which they are ready to sacrifice a daughter, a sister, or a mother,'<sup>3</sup> and in order to induce submission the following incident is introduced into the myth which describes the journey to *Mbulu*, and which is kept alive by professional story-tellers after funerals who are responsible for many of its details.<sup>4</sup> At one point on his journey the ghost throws a stone at a pandanus-tree; if he fails to hit it, he knows that his wives have not been strangled, and this is a proof that they have been unfaithful to him in life. Consequently the good name of the widows is at stake on this occasion, and their death

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (84), 243.

<sup>2</sup> T. Williams (186), 161-4, 168; Fison (40), 139, 144, 148.

<sup>3</sup> T. Williams (186), 171.

<sup>4</sup> Thomson (169), 117.

is urged upon them by their friends, while they are unwilling to escape for fear of their fate should they survive.<sup>1</sup> The problem as to how a woman dying before her husband escapes *Nanga-Nanga* is easily solved, as here no question of property is involved; the widower cuts off his beard and puts it under her left arm, and this serves as a certificate of marriage.<sup>2</sup>

Turning from these degraded Fijian practices, where religious beliefs are manipulated by greedy relatives to justify the retention of a practice which has lost its original significance, we find the custom in its truer form in New Britain and the Solomon Islands. Among the Sulka of the interior of New Britain, wives are killed at funerals, and wives and slaves were buried alive with a chief among the coast-people of the Gazelle Peninsula (formerly) and in Bougainville.<sup>3</sup> The widow is sometimes strangled in Eddystone Island;<sup>4</sup> in Bugotu (Ysabel) the widow and children were strangled at the open grave and their bodies thrown in together with the dead man's possessions;<sup>5</sup> cases of widows being strangled or buried alive have been known in Saa (East Solomons), Maevo and Lepers Island<sup>6</sup> (New Hebrides); and the custom was formerly common in Aneiteum<sup>7</sup> (whence it has spread to Tanna<sup>8</sup>), Santo,<sup>9</sup> and New Caledonia.<sup>10</sup> The statues of the wife and child set up on the grave with that of the deceased in New Georgia<sup>11</sup> may also be a relic of a practice like the Ysabel one. In Malecula the widow sleeps on the grave until she marries again,<sup>12</sup> and in Ambryn and Pentecost watches the corpse during desiccation,<sup>13</sup> probably a survival of the former killing of widows (cf. pp. 203-4), and Brown (in 1910) reports the watching of the chief's grave by 'female mourners'<sup>14</sup> (probably the widows) in Aneiteum where the widow was formerly sacrificed (cf. Turner and Paton, writing in 1884 and 1894, respectively). Dr. Gill relates how in Efate a little girl was bought by a chief 'of whom he said, "When I die, this girl will die too." . . . If nobody be strangled at my death, people will say, "He was no

<sup>1</sup> Thomson (169), 120-1, 132; T. Williams (186), 171.      <sup>2</sup> Fison (40), 139.

<sup>3</sup> Parkinson (123), 81, 185.

<sup>4</sup> Hocart (67), 159.

<sup>5</sup> Codrington (22), 257; Penny (125), 68.

<sup>6</sup> Codrington (22), 288-9.

<sup>7</sup> Turner (176), 324; Meinicke (112), i. 201.

<sup>8</sup> Paton (124), 69, 452.

<sup>9</sup> Hagen and Pineau (58), 332.

<sup>10</sup> Meinicke (112), i. 229.

<sup>11</sup> Somerville (160), 403.

<sup>12</sup> Hagen and Pineau (58), 332.

<sup>13</sup> Lamb (86), 118; Hagen and Pineau (58), 332; Codrington (22), 288.

<sup>14</sup> G. Brown (15), 396.

chief! ". To avoid this disgrace, he had purchased this child from her mother for a large pig, and there were four other children "feeding" in the care of his relatives, against the time they might be required'.<sup>1</sup> This again is probably a substitute for killing the widow, as in Rossel Island (Louisade Archipelago) a small boy or girl was sometimes killed instead of a wife at the death of a chief.<sup>2</sup>

Elsewhere we find practices which are definitely stated to be modifications of former human sacrifice. In Eddystone Island the widow is confined in a small enclosure with her knees drawn up like the dead, and she may not wear finery, or eat food cooked in the house, or take part in festivals, but is considered as 'dead' for ever after.<sup>3</sup> In the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain women sleep on the grave for some weeks (now explained as protecting the corpse from pigs),<sup>4</sup> and attempts are made by the mourners to throw themselves into the grave; the latter is certainly a survival of the now obsolete human sacrifice,<sup>5</sup> and a similar performance among the Wedau and Wamira of Goodenough Bay (South Massim) is probably due to the same cause. Among the latter it is also customary for the widow to clasp the dead body in a tight embrace, so that it is sometimes difficult to get the corpse away,<sup>6</sup> which must be connected with some such custom. Thus in Rossel Island (Louisade Archipelago) one of the wives is killed,<sup>7</sup> and close by in Tagula the wife or wives lie down beside the chief's corpse, and may not move until he is buried: if they do so it is a proof that they did not care for their husband and had poisoned him, so are immediately killed and (formerly) cooked and eaten.<sup>8</sup> In the Northern D'Entrecasteaux, again, the widow lies by the corpse, and is carried after it to the grave, but is taken back immediately and placed in her hut, for 'grief and sorrow have taken away her strength and she is no longer able to walk unaided'.<sup>9</sup> This is obviously reminiscent of the time when she was actually killed and her corpse carried out after his, especially as the present practice is entirely confined to a husband (probably a recent extension) or wife, and the survivor may not enter the hamlet or visit the

<sup>1</sup> Gill (45), 337.

<sup>3</sup> Hocart (67), 159, (200), 84.

<sup>5</sup> Parkinson (123), 78, 81-2.

<sup>7</sup> Murray (117), 213-14.

<sup>9</sup> Jenness and Ballantyne (75), 111.

<sup>2</sup> Murray (117), 213-14.

<sup>4</sup> Kleintitschen (79), 222.

<sup>6</sup> Newton (121), 221-2.

<sup>8</sup> Murray (117), 142.



grave for a year, a widower generally going to a neighbouring village, where he settles permanently.<sup>1</sup> The tabu on the widow is remarkably strong throughout this part of British New Guinea, and generally she is shut up alone (cf. Eddystone Island, where this is definitely an alternative to death) or watches beside the grave for months, so that it is probable that formerly she was actually killed as in the Solomons and New Hebrides, especially as elsewhere in New Guinea there are many traces of such a custom. Thus, for instance, widows are buried alive among the Kuni of Dilava, a semi-Negrito people of the interior of the Mekeo District,<sup>2</sup> are killed among the Kai and Sissano of Huon Gulf,<sup>3</sup> and keep vigil by the grave for weeks or months among the Sialum, Kai, Jabim, Bukaua, and Cape King William tribes of ex-German New Guinea.<sup>4</sup>

This type of human sacrifice seems to be partly connected with property, an extension of burying the grave-gifts, of which the wife and children seem to form a part in Bugotu (Ysabel); but the alternative of complete seclusion for the widow in Eddystone Island, and the many restrictions imposed upon her elsewhere, seem to indicate that tabu is also an important motive owing to her intimate relation with the dead man. Indeed her life is so closely bound up with his, that she is often supposed to be mysteriously connected with his death: in Lepers Island (New Hebrides) a wife was accused of having poisoned her husband, and people wanted to bury her alive with him, to which she consented, but a Christian native prevented it,<sup>5</sup> and a similar idea seems to prevail in Tagula (cf. p. 203).

From a practical point of view the widow is probably a burden on the community, and she may be glad to escape from an unhappy lot, and from the stigma attaching to it: in Saa (East Solomons) we hear of a wife asking for death that she might follow her husband,<sup>6</sup> and the Kai (Huon Gulf) widow is only killed at her own urgent request. In the latter case her friends dare not prevent it lest the dead man be angry; but her

<sup>1</sup> Jenness and Ballantyne (75), 113, 117.

<sup>2</sup> Williamson (189), 195.

<sup>3</sup> Keysser (77), iii. 83-4; Neuhauss (119), i. 171.

<sup>4</sup> Neuhauss (119), i. 167-8; Keysser (77), iii. 82-3; Zahn (195), iii. 321; Lechner (93), iii. 473; Stolz (164), iii. 258.

<sup>5</sup> Codrington (22), 289.

<sup>6</sup> Codrington (22), 288.

motive seems not to be affection for her deceased husband, but if he were a good hunter she wishes to be with him in the afterlife (which resembles this one), so that she may be as well provided for with food as during his lifetime.<sup>1</sup> Is not this an excuse for escaping from a miserable existence as a widow? \*

It thus appears that the sacrifice of widows as part of the property of their husbands and as being specially tabu (and perhaps also because of the difficulty of supporting them together with the suspicion that they had poisoned their husbands), was formerly prevalent all over Melanesia and the north and south-east coasts of New Guinea. This was generally explained as enabling the wife to accompany the dead man (Kai, Sissano, Rossel Island, Saa, Efate, Aneiteum, Tanna). With the coming of milder customs this practice tends to die out, or to be modified into the killing of one or two children, but traces of it survive in the watching of the grave—now explained as keeping off flies or pigs (Pentecost and Gazelle Peninsula), or evil spirits (Cape King William)—the isolation of the widow, the embracing of the corpse, feints by the mourners of throwing themselves into the grave, and similar ceremonies.

### § 3. *New Zealand Type.*

The evidence from New Zealand as regards human sacrifice at funerals is conflicting. According to Elsdon Best there is no confirmation of the statement that persons were sacrificed in order that their souls might attend that of the deceased chief in the hereafter, or that men of rank were ever slain for that purpose. If witchcraft were suspected of causing a chief's illness, the

\* There are one or two rather exceptional cases in the Solomon Islands. In New Georgia one or more slaves (captives who were kept chiefly for this purpose), used to be killed unawares by a tomahawk on the death of their master,<sup>1</sup> and in Bougainville a slave was killed at the death of a noble, and his body left unburied.<sup>2</sup> Both these seem to be rather a tribute to a great man than anything else, especially as a victim is also required on every other great occasion, and are like the heads procured in honour of a chief at Bugotu (Ysabel), which are believed to add mana to the new *tindadhō* (ghost). Until this has been done people do not move about, and any one not belonging to the place will be killed for the sake of his head.<sup>3</sup> This bears a strong resemblance to Polynesian practices (cf. p. 207, &c.), especially in the stealthy manner of killing the victim, and may belong to a later culture in the Solomons than the sacrifice of the widow, which is more truly Melanesian.

<sup>1</sup> Somerville (160), 404; Woodford (192), 154-5.

<sup>2</sup> Parkinson (123), 484.

<sup>3</sup> Codrington (22), 257.

<sup>1</sup> Keysser (77), iii. 83-4.

suspected person, or a member of his tribe, was selected as a sacrifice (*ika koangaumi*). But this took place before death, and was done anyway if an important person were near to death with the idea of exaltation of the sick man, the body being eaten and a portion given to the invalid: such an act was said to allay the grief of the relations. At the *Putu kai* ceremony, indeed, a person of good rank, perhaps a relative of the defunct chief, was slain, but this was in exaltation of the dead, and a token of respect. It was performed after death, and the body was not eaten, but a party would go forth and slay the victim, leaving his friends to bury him. Slaves were also killed to provide human flesh for the funeral feast, but this was not in any sense a ritual performance, although human sacrifices used sometimes to be performed on other occasions such as building a new village or launching a new canoe over the bodies of slaves.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, Taylor tells us that formerly in the south a chief's wife and slaves were strangled to attend him in the other world,<sup>2</sup> and Tregear that slaves were sometimes killed and the chief wife strangled herself, the bodies being buried with the husband.<sup>3</sup> Can it be possible that at one time both forms of human sacrifice existed, the strangling of the widow being part of that Melanesian culture of which so many traces appear in New Zealand (cf. pp. 47, 51), while the killing of a man 'in exaltation' of a dead chief is more definitely Polynesian (cf. p. 207)? Perhaps the former custom was still extant in Taylor's time (1870) in the south, but gradually died out; so that Elsdon Best, writing in 1905, and dealing chiefly with the tribes round the Bay of Plenty (in the centre of the North Island), could find no trace of it.

In other parts of Polynesia human sacrifice was frequent as an act of exaltation on great occasions.<sup>4</sup> In Hawaii it represented an 'act of worship' at the launching of a new canoe, the building of a chief's house, before going to war, a chief's funeral, &c., the victims being always males, either captives or persons accused (often falsely) of violating some tabu, who were killed by secret assault.<sup>5</sup> Similar customs prevailed in the

<sup>1</sup> E. Best (9), 158, 166; Percy Smith; Editorial Note in *Journ. of the Pol. Sty.*, XII, p. 209. <sup>2</sup> Taylor (166), 218. <sup>3</sup> Tregear (174), 105.

<sup>4</sup> Cook (23), ii. 39-43, 53; J. Williams (185), 144-5.

<sup>5</sup> Bryan (16), 583; Jarves (73), 47-8; Meinicke (112), ii. 301.

Marquesas,<sup>1</sup> and Cook describes the graves of human sacrifices at a chief's funeral at Atooki<sup>2</sup> (Sandwich Islands). The Fijian 'strong man' (p. 201) and the slave-victims in the Solomons (p. 205, n.) may be other instances of this Polynesian practice. In the Society and Hervey Islands and in Tonga, the usual method of procuring a human victim is to stun the selected person suddenly by a blow on the back of the head with a stone (cf. New Georgian slaves, p. 205, n.), and then finish him off and carry the corpse to the *marae*. All other male members of his family were henceforth doomed to a similar fate:<sup>3</sup> the statement in New Georgia that slaves were kept chiefly to serve as sacrifices may be a reminiscence of certain families being considered as potential victims.

This Polynesian form of human sacrifice has no connexion with beliefs about the afterlife, but is merely part of any great ceremony. With the exception of New Zealand there is no instance of widows being slain with their husbands.

These types of human sacrifice may be briefly summarized as follows :

1. *Bornean Type*. This prevails (or rather prevailed) in Borneo, Sumatra and Nias, and Celebes, and seems to be developed from two sources, namely head-hunting and blood-revenge. The former is characteristic of the Kayans of Borneo and the Toradja, &c., of Celebes, the placing of a human head or the slaying of a living captive on the grave being a mark of honour used to celebrate any great occasion, and this combines with the blood-revenge of the indigenous tribes of these two islands. Later comes the interpretation that the victim is intended to serve the dead man hereafter, with consequent modifications.

On the other hand, blood-revenge among the native tribes of Borneo, in Celebes, and in Sumatra and Nias (combining with the head-hunting practices of the two first named), has been modified into the ritual killing of a slave (generally purchased from a neighbouring tribe), and comes to be explained (except perhaps in Celebes) as the provision of an attendant for the deceased in the spirit-land; this develops into the 'bloodless

<sup>1</sup> Meinicke (112), i. 252.    <sup>2</sup> Cook (23), ii. 203.    <sup>3</sup> J. Williams (185), 144-5.



sacrifice' of the slave left to starve at the grave, or set aside to tend it for ever as a 'dead-alive' man. In Celebes, however, the custom has remained in its purer form, and is for the most part unassociated with the life beyond the grave. Among the Milano of Borneo the interpretation of the human victim as a companion has been the direct cause of his being starved instead of slain in accordance with eschatological belief as to the separation of violent deaths in the afterworld, and has led to the inclusion of a slave-woman among the grave-gifts provided for the dead man. In later times the actual victims are replaced by images and the sacrificing of fowls and pigs in Borneo, and by such ceremonies as the ritual setting-free of the slave at a funeral in Macassar.<sup>1</sup>

2. *Melanesian Type.* All over Melanesia it was formerly customary to bury the widow with her husband or to strangle her at the grave. This practice seems chiefly to be due to the tabu which rests on all the property of the deceased (generally destroyed or set apart for a period), and especially on the wife with whom he is mystically connected, and who is often considered responsible for his death, assisted no doubt by the practical difficulty of providing for her if she survive her husband. As the widow is thus really a portion of the grave-gifts, her death is explained in a similar manner and she is generally supposed to accompany the dead man to the spirit-land.

Survivals of this practice occur in the treating of the widow as a dead person and the widow's vigil by the grave, which are widespread throughout this area, and also in the widow's lying down in the grave or coffin beside the corpse, and in the pretended attempts of mourners to throw themselves into the grave. The true significance of these survivals has, however, often been lost, and they are otherwise explained, while the wife no longer goes to the afterworld with her dead husband.

3. *Maori Type.* Human sacrifice among the Maori follows the Polynesian type, when a captive or criminal (always a male) is slain unawares to celebrate any great occasion, and is unconnected with belief in the future life. There are, however, traces of a separate practice of killing widows with their husbands in the Melanesian manner, which may possibly be connected with the Melanesian element in New Zealand culture.

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (84), 242.

## XVII

### RITUAL AND BELIEF

WE will now consider the general principles and tendencies which have been brought out in the course of the present enquiry.

Apart from the considerable effect upon simple burial forms exercised by geographical conditions, there stands out most prominently the double influence of psychology and ethnology, and their cumulative effect upon ritual and belief in their earlier stages. The further development of the latter then proceeds on parallel lines with mutual borrowings and convergences to form a more or less connected whole. Although theories of origins must always be largely hypothetical, it would appear that the simpler types of funeral ritual have been influenced chiefly by psychology and topography, developing and attaining a special form through historical events or local circumstances : they then tend to become crystallized by custom and tradition, and are subsequently modified or elaborated by artificial selection (e. g. cupidity of relations or priests, or social conditions). This is in a broad way the usual evolution of burial-rites, and also to a certain extent of beliefs ; the latter are moreover specially liable to be affected by historical occurrences such as migration or racial admixture passing over into eschatological myth, and by culture-contact in the form of stories and legends, while ritual is more stable owing to the conservative tendencies of tradition. In the earliest stage there is little connexion between ritual and belief, as is seen among semi-nomadic peoples who have a vague type of afterworld and simple rites such as tree-exposure, and little or no ceremony. When burial-forms begin to be stereotyped by tradition, they tend to influence beliefs about the locality, nature, or accessibility of the after-world, because their original purpose is forgotten (especially in the case of ritual details due to migration), and eschatological explanations are sought. In a later stage such belief reacts upon ritual, though chiefly as regards details, unless under the

deliberate guidance of priests and medicine-men. Certain practices have moreover a specially close connexion with the supposed life of the soul after death: orientation, for instance, is often a deliberate attempt to guide the ghost to his future abode, grave-gifts are generally interpreted (whatever their original purpose) as being in some way useful to the dead man, and cave-burial usually suggests an underworld.

Various causes have contributed to such a development as has been outlined above, and show the rise of fixed burial forms and eschatological beliefs, and their gradual convergence into a complicated funerary ritual associated with elaborate theories about the afterlife.

1. *Practical Causes.* Topographical conditions, mode of life, and local circumstances, are primarily responsible for the methods of disposing of the body, such as tree-exposure among forest-nomads, cave-burial for reasons of secrecy, throwing into the water among coast-people, and so forth, and also sporadically for peculiar forms such as cremation, upright-burial, and sometimes desiccation. Such details of funerary ritual as grave-fires to keep off animals or warm the watchers, or the 'Bornean' type of human sacrifice founded on blood-revenge, are instances of customs having a practical basis, which have helped to produce certain beliefs in a later stage when an explanation is desired (especially if the earlier motives have ceased to exist), and which converge with other details of ritual into a more or less connected whole. There is also evidence of occasional direct influence of geography upon belief, such as the association of volcanoes with a home of the dead underground in South Melanesia.

2. *Psychological Causes.* The universal tabu-feeling connected with death, and primitive ideas concerning haunting and the temporary sojourn of the soul, which rest largely on a psychological basis and are closely connected with dreams and hallucinations, are responsible for most of the ritual of temporary and secondary burial, and for the reinterpretation of customs due to practical causes in terms of eschatological belief, especially with regard to the details of the final departure of the soul, the nature and duration of its existence in the afterworld, and the theory of plurality of souls. The destruction of grave-gifts from

motives of tabu, reinterpreted as setting free the 'souls' of these objects or of conforming with the doctrine of opposites in the hereafter, the sacrifice of widows and its modern survivals, and the mutilation of rites for 'bad deaths' with corresponding separation in the afterlife, are instances of development along these lines.

3. *Historical Causes.* (a) *Migration* has had a remarkable influence upon burial customs, by bringing certain aspects into prominence, especially those which are directly due to changed conditions, such as attempts to take back dead bodies to the tribal home, which is responsible for 'sending adrift' sea-burial and (sometimes) the canoe-coffin. In the domain of belief it concentrates the attention on a journey to the ancestral spirit-land, until the latter loses its original character and becomes a far-away island or mythical home of gods and ancestors (especially Borneo, Solomon Islands, Polynesia, &c.), and gives rise to such rites as orientation towards the ancestral home, ritual conducting in Borneo, and perhaps embalming in Polynesia. Survivals of migration in funerary ritual, when their true meaning has been forgotten, are reinterpreted according to the prevailing form of belief, or remain as meaningless details preserved by tradition: such are the canoe in Polynesian ritual (and its counterpart the 'ship of the dead' in myth), the figures on Kayan coffins, and so forth.

(b) *Race-fusion* is represented by the existence of alternative afterworlds and of two sets of funeral rites among one people, except, perhaps, in cases of differentiation of 'good' and 'bad' death rituals. The difference in burial-form, generally corresponding with a difference in rank as in Polynesia, keeps alive the dual belief, generally transforming the spirit-land of the less dominant race into an inferior abode for less favoured souls.

(c) *Foreign domination* by civilized peoples has had a considerable influence upon native beliefs in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, turning the primitive afterworld into a 'Hell' for the wicked, and its former 'headman' into a judge of good and bad. Funerary ritual however is more conservative, and is merely modified by the occasional adoption of a superficial kind of cremation, as among the Olo Maanjam and some Hill-



Dyaks in Borneo, and the Toba and Karo Battak of Sumatra, where it is not used to burn the flesh, but to destroy the remains after temporary exposure or interment.<sup>1</sup>

4. *Rites and Religious Observances.* The development of certain aspects of eschatological belief is directly due to certain forms of funerary ritual or methods of burial, or to primitive theories about the soul. This appears most strongly in the elaboration of the funeral feast and grave-gifts in Indonesia (founded originally on rank, status, &c.), and their interpretation as securing the safe journey and admission of the dead man to the afterworld, with all the wealth of detail concerning ordeals, guardians, admission-tests, &c., which again in their turn react upon the detail of the ceremonies themselves. Embalming in Polynesia is also probably one of the factors which have produced the ritual 'deification' of chiefs, involving their elevation to a special spirit-land, and developing into a highly paid priestly monopoly in Tahiti. Ideas concerning 'soul-substance', and primitive speculations about sunset, seem to have suggested the horizon-entrance to the underworld in West New Guinea and Indonesia, frequently resulting in westward orientation of the corpse.

Perhaps one of the most outstanding features of primitive belief concerning the dead is the supposed connexion between the treatment of the body and the fate of the soul, which if it has not actually suggested the locality of the spirit-land, has at any rate kept alive and lent colour to its distinctive features. Thus sea-burial (i. e. throwing into the water) is everywhere connected with an afterworld across or under the sea, cave-burial frequently coincides with a cave-entrance to the underworld, and mixed burial-forms (i. e. final disposal in remote places alternating with preservation in the house) produce a dual form of belief. Similarly the differential treatment of unnatural deaths implies *ipso facto* separation in the hereafter, and is one of the most important features of the admission test; and it is only among peoples where the efficacy of ritual as such is highly developed, that the total loss of the corpse (and the absence of a reasonable substitute, such as the skull or something which has been in contact with the dead body), and the consequent

<sup>1</sup> Kruijt (83), 333, 338; Wilken (184), 300-1.

shutting-out of the soul, may be remedied by some form of ritual conducting.

From the evidence considered in the preceding chapters, it is now possible in certain cases to indicate the development, with mutual borrowings and reactions, of particular sets of burial-forms and beliefs, the details of which have been given above.

Thus in the South-east Malay Archipelago we find the rough receptacle for the corpse made from a hollowed-out tree-trunk becoming a canoe-coffin, then a vessel in which the soul travels to its island-home (the result of recent migration), finally modified by Malay influence into a true 'soul-boat'; and the practice of taking back the corpse to the tribal home after migration becoming an elaborate journey for the soul, followed by priestly conducting-ritual in Borneo, or producing the ghost-ship myth and the ritual survival of the canoe in Polynesia. Blood-revenge in Borneo converges with head-hunting and becomes human-sacrifice at funerals in order to provide the dead chief with attendants in the future life, the theory of the separation of violent deaths in the afterworld changing the tribal spearing of the victim into a bloodless death from starvation, and eventually passing over into the slave watcher by the grave and the substitution of animal for human heads. Grave-gifts again, originally property or denoting status, become necessary for admission or the journey to the afterworld, and are elaborated accordingly: while the preservation of the dead man's bones in Celebes, Dutch New Guinea, &c., is gradually replaced by the making of images as substitutes and final bone-burial in remote places, and the ghost accompanies the remains to a more distant abode and at the same time inhabits the statuette, or a doctrine of several souls arises. The most complete—and at the same time the most involved—sequences occur in the Indonesian funeral-feasts. The food placed by the corpse to revive the dead man (which in Melanesia serves to resuscitate his soul upon arrival in the spirit-land) here becomes food for his ghost during his temporary sojourn, and is extended to cover his journey and admission test; this then converges with other practices associated with temporary sojourn (founded originally on the psychological and practical motives connected with the

period of dissolution of the body, and explained in terms of the ghost's activities between death and final departure) and with ordinary grave-gifts, and shares in their reinterpretation: the final result is a complete set of funeral ceremonies and an elaborate theory of the soul's journey and admission to the afterworld, which in its turn modifies or elaborates every detail to fit in with some detail of eschatological belief.

## XVIII

### CONCLUSION

THE most primitive conception of the abode of the dead seems to be of the vague type found among nomadic hunting-tribes, who think little about the subject, and is in no way connected with their simple burial-forms.

Among sedentary peoples, the tendency is to fix the land of the dead a little way off in less known country, generally following the custom of burial in such places, for the disposal of the bones affects the fate of the soul; while various psychological factors introduce beliefs about the grave-ghost or house-ghost, and rites ensuring the souls' departure or a special dwelling-place for them. A dual form of belief, unless due to the fusion of two cultures, is the result of the close connexion presumed to exist between the bones of the dead man and his ghost, which attaches him to a distant burial-place, while at the same time he haunts the living in dreams and apparitions.

Any definite topographical feature which is in some way mysterious, such as a volcano, a cloud-covered mountain, or impenetrable forest, or any remarkable historical event such as a tribal migration, serves to fix the locality: in the absence of any such determining factor, theories as to the place of abode of the departed develop gradually under the influence of the prevailing mode of disposal, especially in the case of cave-burial and secondary burial. Thus in South Melanesia the afterworld becomes established underground because of volcanic phenomena, and in various parts of Indonesia as the result of cave-burial.

Migration moves the spirit-land farther off, and emphasizes the soul's journey thither; the latter often representing the earlier custom of taking back the body to the ancestral home, and surviving in the ritual conducting of the dead man's soul and its subsequent elaborations. In the case of a migration across the sea, the canoe of transport or the practice of sending the corpse adrift becomes in the course of time merely a ritual



survival, or even a mythical 'ghost-ship', and the after-world an island across the sea. This idea is frequently kept alive by such rites as sea-burial, and later on other details are introduced to conform to the special character of the spirit-land, as has happened with grave-gifts in Borneo.

A long and well-defined journey to the afterworld is due to previous migration; but other details of the ghost's movements between death and safe arrival are suggested by various burial-rites, and supported by psychological elements. The rites themselves are often based on practical motives, such as the protection of the corpse during the period of decay, attempts to revive the dead person, or the general tabu of death and the excitement prevailing on any occasion when crowds are assembled. Such practices soon tend to become stereotyped by custom into definite rites, and are explained in terms of the ghost's welfare, especially in the case of grave-fires, mourners' vigils, blood-revenge, and the heaping of the tabu property of the deceased upon the grave, until the supposed journey of the soul becomes more and more clearly defined. Presently special ceremonies are invented to ensure its safe arrival, and other customs (whatever their original purpose) are artificially modified or elaborated for the same reason.

It is only in comparatively developed funerary ritual that admission to the afterworld is influenced by burial rites. Originally it was entirely a question of rank or status, foreigners and people of low degree having, as in this life, no rights. Later the details of funeral ceremonies suggest that it is they which effect admittance, rather than the rank or position which they in reality represent, and explanatory myths about the bribing or feeding of a guardian arise. This idea is fostered and elaborated by priests and medicine-men, who preside over the proceedings, and profit by the grave-gifts and the multiplication of ceremonies. In the case of the fusion of two peoples each having its own set of rites and beliefs, the difference in the burial-forms tends to accentuate the separate afterworlds, and to make the spirit-land of the dominant race a superior place, and admission to it dependant upon the particular kind of ritual which they alone use.

For those suffering so-called 'bad' deaths, however, we

always find different rites, or none at all, and a worse fate : this idea is closely connected with the non-recovery of the body, which in itself is often a fatal obstacle to admission to the here-after. Such deliberate modification or omission of the usual burial, combined with the particular form of 'bad' death (especially in the case of suicides), inspires so much horror, and is so greatly dreaded, that it is taken for granted that the soul will suffer accordingly. The majority of these 'lost souls' are merely shut out, and at worst become homeless ghosts which haunt the living ; but where ideas about the afterworld are more elaborate, a special division therein is allotted to them. The priests take full advantage of such beliefs, and under their guidance other details of the funeral ceremonies are explained as having their use in the spirit-land. That ghosts must be fed periodically at feasts of the dead to prevent their fading away is a further development found in Borneo. Otherwise the conception of life in the afterworld, and the final disintegration of the soul which usually follows, are due to psychological causes such as dreams, the memory of the survivors, the limited outlook of the primitive mind, and the difficulty of grasping abstract ideas like immortality, but have no connexion with rites.

Certain details of funerary ritual appear to have a special influence on beliefs about the afterlife. Thus the canoe-coffin, which is in reality a vestige of migration, or sometimes only a convenient receptacle or part of the dead man's possessions, is very apt to be interpreted as a soul-boat, and helps to emphasize the soul's journey across the sea. The possessions of the deceased placed round his corpse suggest his continued presence, the fires and grave-watchers his need of warmth and guidance, and the importance attached to the funeral display a difficulty in obtaining admission to be overcome by material means. Again cave-burial sometimes fixes the spirit-land beneath the earth, preservation of the body keeps the ghost near the living, and final bone-burial at a distance sends the dead man to a far-off afterworld. In contrast to these is orientation, which (except where it is originally a method of differentiation) is the result rather than the cause of eschatological belief, and seems to be deliberately adopted as a means of directing the dead man to his new abode.

Certain beliefs and practices appear to have a direct bearing upon the ethnological problems of this area. Thus the peculiar type of underworld found in South Melanesia seems to belong to the culture of the earlier inhabitants, the so-called 'Dual People', whose characteristics have been so ably worked out by Dr. Rivers; and in this connexion it is interesting to find the same belief among Polynesian commoners (also connected with the 'Dual People'), and in a more or less definite form in the Loyalty Islands and New Caledonia, the Solomons, New Britain, and South-east British New Guinea, where this culture has been overlaid by more recent immigration. In view of the discussion as to the origin of various non-Polynesian features in Maori culture, a special interest attaches to the finding of this South Melanesian underworld apparently fused with the Polynesian type of spirit-land in New Zealand, and also of traces of the Melanesian form of human sacrifice, unknown elsewhere in Polynesia.

In Borneo the differences between the culture of the immigrant Kayans and that of the indigenous tribes is especially marked by two types of human sacrifice, which have now converged and lost part of their original character, and by the mausoleums and journey-ritual of the Kayan as contrasted with the mortuary-posts and tree-burial of the earlier peoples. These features of Kayan rites strongly resemble those of the Naga hill-tribes of Assam, with whom they are ethnologically connected.

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## APPENDIX I

### THE SOUTH MELANESIAN UNDERWORLD IN OTHER PARTS OF MELANESIA, AND AMONG COMMONERS IN POLYNESIA.

Traces of the South Melanesian underworld-belief (cf. p. 42) appear in the following parts of Melanesia, where they have been modified or superseded by later immigrant cultures.

*Loyalty Islands.* South Melanesian type in modified form. Underworld has become cave (perhaps originally the entrance), or submerged reef.

*Lifu.* Cave-burial. Sitting posture, especially for rain-makers (probably because old custom). Corpse tied up to prevent return of ghost. Dead live in caves in reef off coast where they are buried, and which is under water at high tide. Are considered as ethereal.<sup>1</sup>

*Uvéa.* Cave-burial. Beliefs as in Lifu. Sitting-posture. Skull-cult (absent from Lifu and Maré) probably due to known immigration from Polynesia.<sup>2</sup>

*Maré.* Cave-burial. No sitting-posture.<sup>3</sup>

*New Caledonia.* Cave-burial. Sitting-posture (commoners). Ghosts connected with caves are seen in forest at night, and greatly feared. Afterworld under sea. Skull-cult probably due to known Polynesian immigration connected with chiefs.<sup>4</sup>

*Solomon Islands.* Afterworld is on a neighbouring island, but it seems probable that there was also an underworld belonging to the earlier population, which has now been forgotten, and of which traces survive in certain alternative or conflicting beliefs, and in eschatological details which are foreign to the conception of a spirit-land across the sea. Throughout the Solomon Islands chiefs are cremated (probably due to a still later wave of immigrants into the West Solomons) or preserved in the house, either completely or only the skulls; while ordinary people are interred (without

<sup>1</sup> Hadfield (57), 7, 9, 161, 214-15, 216, 217; Ella (30), 490; Ray (133), 288; Sarasin (143), 274-5.

<sup>2</sup> Ella (31), 642; Sarasin (143), 287; Hadfield (57), 161; Joyce (76), 141.

<sup>3</sup> Sarasin (143), 245-6.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, 67, 82, 96, 100, 171; Glaumont (46), 119, 125-7; Turner (176), 346-7; Legrand (92), 49; Joyce (76), 131.

preservation of the skull) or thrown into the sea. Sitting-burial is frequent.<sup>1</sup>

*Mono-Alu of Bougainville Straits.* Divided opinion about after-world resulting in a compromise, the dead going to Bougainville and then returning to own islands. Connexion with volcano Bareka. Leaping-off place. Idea that dead live underground and are active at night. In folk-tales 'Land of the Dead' is underground, or, in another instance, beneath the sea.<sup>2</sup>

*Eddystone Island.* Sitting-posture (exposure). Ghosts live in caves before final departure to island, showing presence of two separate beliefs. Connexion with volcanoes. Life in other world goes on at night, and everything connected with dead said backwards.<sup>3</sup>

*Choiseul, Vella-la-Vella, and Buin of South Bougainville.* Sitting-posture (exposure). Dead go to volcano.<sup>4</sup>

*San Cristoval.* Sitting-posture (commoners, exposure). Shadowy inactive existence in spirit-land; ghosts (of common people) range aimlessly about and lodge in caves. Also (besides island-afterworld) belief in presence of dead in or near village. Evidence of dual culture, one probably more widespread formerly, and even now quite unconnected with island afterworld.<sup>5</sup>

*New Georgia.* Sitting-posture. Dual afterworld, one in bush, other locality unknown.<sup>6</sup>

*Savo.* Ghosts go into volcanic crater, implying descent below.<sup>7</sup>

*East Solomons.* Ghosts of great men become powerful *tindalo* and are worshipped; those of insignificant people (? earlier population) are dreaded and not worshipped. Life in spirit-land is unreal.<sup>8</sup>

*Santa Cruz.* Ghosts assemble at special place. Go to volcano, implying a descent below.<sup>9</sup>

*Sulka of New Britain.* Sitting-posture. Sole afterworld underground. (Traces elsewhere in New Britain of entrance to after-world through a hole, cf. p. 35.) Dead greatly feared at night.<sup>10</sup>

*Massim District of British New Guinea.* Confusion of beliefs, in which the South Melanesian underworld, due to Melanesian immi-

<sup>1</sup> Parkinson (123), 483-4; Wheeler (181), 70, 77-8, 81; Guppy (51), 51-2; Rivers (139), ii. 267-8; Codrington (22), 254, 261; Williamson (189), 66.

<sup>2</sup> Wheeler (181), 91-3, 103, &c., 110, 111.

<sup>3</sup> Hocart (67), 159-60; Rivers (138), 396, 403; *ibid.* (139), ii. 267.

<sup>4</sup> Thurnwald (171), i. 320-1; iii. 27; Rivers (139), ii. 268.

<sup>5</sup> Fox and Drew (42), 161, 200-1; Verguet (178), 210; Codrington (22), 257-8.

<sup>6</sup> Somerville (160), 383, 403.

<sup>7</sup> Codrington (22), 264.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, 254.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, 264.

<sup>10</sup> Parkinson (123), 185, 187.

gration, is combined with the Papuan underworld (cf. p. 51), and with other beliefs due to migration.

*N. Massim. Marshall Bennets.* Cave-burial at Kwaiawata. Spirit-land in Tuma Island but beneath ground. Route thither is under the sea. First man came thence through deep hole in the ground. *Trobriands.* Cave-burial in Murua. Belief (among some) that spirit-land at Tuma is underground. Origin-legend of men coming up through cave. But life in afterworld is happy (cf. p. 53).<sup>1</sup>

*South Massim.* Afterworld generally reached by underground route. *Waga-Waga.* Afterworld beneath sea, spoken of as underworld. Night there when day here. *Bartle Bay.* Sitting-posture (chiefs). Valley-afterworld approached through hole in the ground. *Tube-Tube* (Slade Island). Sitting-posture. Entrance through cave to passage under sea, although spirit-land is a hill on Normanby Island. *Kwato.* Passage to afterworld at bottom of large cave, and route thither under earth and sea.<sup>2</sup>

Similar traces of an underworld occur among the commoners in Polynesia, who represent the earlier population, and who according to Dr. Rivers are akin to his 'Dual People' in Melanesia (cf. p. 43). This is shown in the following summary of beliefs and burial-rites in Polynesia.<sup>3</sup>

*Group (a).* Two distinct afterworlds, a bad meaning being generally associated with the commoners' underworld, which in Tonga has been suppressed altogether.

*Samoa. Commoners.* Interment: occasionally exposure on stage in forest and final bone-burial. Underworld entered through hole on volcanic island, and reached by 'leaping stones'. Bad place. *Chiefs.* Embalmed or interred in stone vaults. Go to *Pulotu* under sea.

*Futuna.* Similar to Samoa. *Commoners* go to *Fale-mate* connected with hollows in trees and rocks. *Chiefs* go to *Pulotu*.

*Niue.* Exposure and cave-burial. Sometimes sending adrift. 'Bad' go to underworld *Maui* (sometimes confused with *Po*). 'Good' go above to *Aho-hololea* or *Motu-a-Hina* or *Sina*.

*Tonga. Commoners.* No ceremony and no survival. *Chiefs.* Interment in stone vaults. Go to island *Bolo'too*.

<sup>1</sup> Seligman (146), 679, 727, 728-9, 733; Malinowski (105), 370.

<sup>2</sup> Seligman (146), 655, 657, 658; Field (38), 440-1, 443; Newton (121), 219; Abel (1), 97.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. references on p. 46.



*Union Group. Commoners.* Interment in squatting-posture. Go to happy region far away. *Chiefs.* ? rites. Go to moon.

*Mangarewa* (East of Paumotu) exposure, desiccation and cave-burial, chiefs in *marae*. Afterworld *Po*. No information about commoners or underworld.

*Group (b).* The two afterworlds are more or less completely fused, though chiefs usually go to a better place by priestly aid.

*Tahiti. Commoners.* Interment without ceremony in sitting-posture, though perhaps formerly (cf. Cook) exposed with final bone-burial. Go to *Po*. *Chiefs.* Embalmed and buried in family temple, skull preserved. Go to various heavens, *Rohutu Nonoa* or *Miru*, &c., but only by help of priests.

*South-East Society Islands.* Same as Tahiti.

*Hawaii. Commoners.* Cave-burial in sitting-posture, or sometimes in own houses. Go to abode of misery underground from 'leaping-off' place on the coast. Seems to be confused with *Po*. Also connexion with volcanic crater down which bones were thrown as propitiation to volcanic deities. *Chiefs.* Interred in extended position in secret caves or temples. Sometimes embalmed. Go to ancestral home *Akea*, *Wakea*, or *Miru*, sometimes conducted by a god to a place in the heavens, but help of priests required. Also said to go to *Po*.

*Marquesas. Commoners.* Cave-burial or hidden in trees. Go to Hawaiki, ancestral home under the sea. *Chiefs.* Embalmed, or exposed with final burial in death-house. Go to sky.

*Rarotonga. Commoners.* Different rites from chiefs, but no details given. Go to *Po*. *Chiefs.* Displayed in canoe and buried in *marae*. Go to *Avaiki*, but entrance depends on ritual.

*Mangaia. Cave-burial.* Corpses desiccated and anointed with oil (probably better classes only who are sometimes buried in the *marae*). Ruling immigrant families have burial-caves on west of island that may return to ancestral home across sea, *Avaiki*. Also believe in underworld entered through burial-caves, and have 'leaping-off' place. Sometimes sitting-burial (presumably for commoners).

## APPENDIX II

### INTERMENT AND THE UNDERWORLD

Dr. Rivers has suggested that inhumation (in the sitting-posture) is associated with an afterworld underground, to which the grave is a passage ;<sup>1</sup> but this theory is not supported by the evidence. Inhumation and a belief in an underworld are found together in the following : New Zealand, South Melanesia, Kai of Huon Gulf, Tagbanuas (Philippines), Toradja, Dusun, Sulka, Trobriands, Andamanese, Ellice Islands, and the Kiwai of the Gulf of Papua. On closer examination, however, it appears that in almost all these the connexion is only apparent. In New Zealand inhumation is only temporary, followed by final burial, generally in a cave ;<sup>2</sup> in South Melanesia exposure or desiccation is almost as frequent, and was probably more usual formerly, as the two methods are used alternatively in some places, and in Torres Islands interment has recently been substituted for exposure ;<sup>3</sup> while among the Andamanese exposure is the older and more honourable practice.<sup>4</sup> The Trobriand spirit-land is beneath the island of Tuma, and is reached by the same route as that used by the living, not through the grave,<sup>5</sup> and the Kai ghost leaves the grave and reaches the underworld through a cave on the shore.<sup>6</sup> Among the Toradja and Dusun the entrance is through a cave, associated with cave-burial (which is not true interment),<sup>7</sup> and also among the Tagbanuas, where cave-burial is sometimes practised by request,<sup>8</sup> probably being the older method (cf. p. 36). The Sulka inter the dead in their houses,<sup>9</sup> which again is a different burial-form. We have only been able to trace two definite instances where the grave seems to serve as a passage for the ghost, namely in Ellice Islands and among the Kiwai. In the former *Tia* lies under the ground where the body is buried,<sup>10</sup> and of the latter it is definitely stated that the underworld

<sup>1</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 274, 276.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor (166), 219-20 ; E. Best (9), 199, 218 ; Tregear (174), 105.

<sup>3</sup> Rivers (139), ii. 265 ; Codrington (22), 267-8, 288 ; Watt Leggatt (180), 700.

<sup>4</sup> Man (106), 76-7, 93-4 ; Williamson (187), 258 ; A. R. Brown (197), 107, 287.

<sup>5</sup> Malinowski (105), 358, 370.

<sup>6</sup> Keysser (77), iii. 149.

<sup>7</sup> Grubauer (49), 200, 258 ; Kruijt (83), 328-9, 372, 381.

<sup>8</sup> Sawyer (144), 313 ; Worcester (193), 110, 495.

<sup>9</sup> Parkinson (123), 185-6, 187.

<sup>10</sup> Turner (176), 286.

is entered through the burying-place. But even in the latter case this is only a parallel theory held by a few, as the ghost is usually said to go to *Adiri* on the western horizon reached by a definite route across the sea, and inhumation itself is a substitution for exposure, which has been abandoned within living memory.<sup>1</sup> No doubt the underworld-belief was not without its influence upon interment in certain cases, but the connexion is rather with caves and cave-burial in Indonesia, and with volcanic vents in Melanesia.

## APPENDIX III

### PYGMY BELIEFS AND BURIAL-RITES

The following is a brief summary of the burial-rites and beliefs of the Pygmy tribes in this area.

*Zambales Negritos of Luzon.* Interment in hollowed-out tree or some high spot, and a fence round for protection. No ceremony or regular burial-place. Spirits feared, but no propitiation except feeding them. Dead 'somewhere near'; their presence constantly felt near their former dwelling.<sup>2</sup>

*Mafulu of British New Guinea.* Platform-exposure in trees for chiefs. Young ghosts become shimmering light on the ground and undergrowth where the dense forest of the mountains is penetrated by the sun's beams; older ghosts a poisonous fungus indigenous to mountains. Both avoided.<sup>3</sup>

*Tapiro of Dutch New Guinea.* No information.

*Semang of Malay Peninsula.* Have now mostly adopted Malay methods. Most honourable (? older) practice is exposure in trees. Eastern Semang (Pangan) of Klemantan inter in simple grave in jungle, covered with brushwood and protected by rough roof; though often imitate Sakai methods. Camp deserted after interment. Traces of exposure in caves among the Hami Semang of Hulu Johor. Said that (unlike Sakai) they did not inter objects with the dead.<sup>4</sup> From this it looks as though the true Semang burial-rites were exposure in a tree or cave, or interment in a grave in the jungle protected only by brushwood, and with no grave-furniture, the survivors removing their camp to another spot. Said to have

<sup>1</sup> Landtmann (88), 63, 73, 75; ib. (89), 302, 304; Beaver (7), 176; Chalmers (19), 119.

<sup>2</sup> Reed (134), 61, 65.

<sup>3</sup> Williamson (187), 257-9; ib. (189), 276-7, 279, 281.

<sup>4</sup> Skeat and Blagden (152), ii. 89, 94, 207-8; Annandale and Robinson (3), Part I, 8, 20.

a primitive kind of ancestor-worship, but have little dread of ghosts, in great contrast to the Sakai.

*Andamanese.* Platform tree-burial (most honourable) or interment. Camp deserted. Exhumation later, and the bones preserved in the house or worn by relatives. Various accounts of beliefs. Spirits of forest and sea were originally spirits of the dead. Aka Kede: underworld. Northern Tribes: ghost wanders in jungle, or (another account) underground, or in sky. Akar-Bale (S. tribes): sky or underworld. A-Pučikwar (S. tribes): east or north-east over edge of world to land similar to this, or sky.<sup>1</sup>

With these may be compared the following specially primitive tribes, who have somewhat similar beliefs.

*Papuans of Parimau* (near Tapiro Pygmies). Ghosts (*niniki*) described as things which you could not see, but were here and there in the air about you. When asked where dead had gone, pointed vaguely to the horizon saying 'far'.<sup>2</sup>

*Mountain Alferu of Ceram.* Body hung in tree till decayed, then interred in coffin or kept in house. Soul goes into woods and rocks.<sup>3</sup>

*Mountain Mangyans of Mindoro.* Sick abandoned: body carried into woods, fenced, and enclosed with thatch. Denied belief in future life.<sup>4</sup>

*Baining of New Britain.* Body interred, but grave not even filled in; no protection from wild animals. Little or no ceremony, and no fear of evil spirits. Dead everywhere present, but invisible, with no fixed abodes.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Brown (197), 107-8, 112-13, 138, 146, 168-70, 287.

<sup>2</sup> Wollaston (191), 133; Rawling (132), 139.

<sup>3</sup> Bastian (6), i. 142, 148-50, 154.

<sup>4</sup> Worcester (193), 412.

<sup>5</sup> Parkinson (123), 159, 161.





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PRINTED IN ENGLAND  
AT THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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